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Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-251 *31 December 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of the republics of the former Soviet Union.

NOTICE TO READERS: The name of this book will change from the "Soviet Union DAILY REPORT" to the "Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT" with the 6 January 1992 edition. The "Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT" will cover the same geographic area as the "Soviet Union DAILY REPORT."

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Article Cites Post-Cold War Missile Plans

LD3112092391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 91 Union Edition pp 1, 5

[A. Anichkin feature: "United States and Russia Are Still Aiming Missiles at Each Other. It Is Time To Stop This"]

[Excerpts] On Saturday [28 December], U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney asked questions that were bound to come up sooner or later. Why, in the present extremely grave economic situation, is the former Soviet Union continuing to produce and modernize strategic nuclear missiles? If the United States has ceased to be the number one "potential enemy," against whom are these missiles targeted? [passage omitted]

Our military correspondent Viktor Litovkin called the armed forces leadership. With a good festive sense of humor, he was told: "If the U.S. missiles are targeted only on African deserts, ours are targeted there, too." No actions overstepping the bounds of the existing interstate accords are being taken, the correspondent was told. What is happening is merely the planned replacement of obsolete designs [konstruktsii] with more modern ones. All this is being implemented within the framework of START and is no secret to anyone. [passage omitted]

Understandably, our military is acting on the basis of plans approved earlier and officially drawn-up schedules for maintaining combat readiness. They cannot be reproached for this. But, it is high time that we consider how justified these plans are in the post-cold war era. Surely it is overly, absurdly expensive to implement schedules for the modernization and production of nuclear arms designed for global superpower conflicts involving the possibility of a huge overkill of the enemy (and at the same time ourselves). [passage omitted]

So far attention has centered on the issue of who controls the "nuclear button" in the former USSR. Now that this has become clear, another question arises: Against whom are the missiles targeted? The answer remains as terrible as it was before: against each other. So long as the fundamental question of radical nuclear disarmament, of recognizing that neither the United States nor Russia any longer need large nuclear arsenals, has not been resolved, missiles will still clearly be targeted by no means on "African deserts."

In the postwar world the notion of security was based on the strategy of nuclear deterrence—the "balance of fear." This was the monstrous logic that necessitated the expenditure of mankind's resources on the production of tens of thousands of nuclear munitions.

President Bush's decision in September to unilaterally remove from combat alert duty B-52 and B-1B bombers and also 450 Minuteman-P ICBM's marked a serious shift toward revising this concept. USSR President Gorbachev, who back in Reykjavik had sketched out a nuclear-free future with Reagan, responded with an initiative which fundamentally coincided with Bush's initiative. Thus, around 1,000 Soviet and U.S. missiles will not be targeted on anyone. But even after this, each side still has around 10,000 nuclear munitions capable of being delivered to targets in the United States and the former USSR. The situation will not change fundamentally even after the 30-percent reduction in strategic nuclear arsenals under START.

The fundamental question must be resolved, otherwise we cannot emerge from the vicious circle. The United States cannot renounce its large-scale nuclear arsenal so long as Russia has a similar arsenal and its missiles are targeted on the United States. Even if Moscow decides that there would be no danger if just one nuclear superpower were left in the world, it would not be easy for it to abandon nuclear weapons in the face of the emergence of new nuclear powers in the future.

If missiles are not to be targeted on each other, we will have to recognize—in both Moscow and Washington—that there is no longer any threat that has to be deterred, there is no point in gigantic nuclear arsenals, and maybe there is no point in retaining them at all.

China

Developing Relations With China Assessed

LD3012232991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0851 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Beijing, 30 December (TASS)—After the disintegration of the Soviet Union the nature of the economies of China and the republics of the former USSR remains complementary, and trade relations between them will be based, as before, on principles of mutual interest and profitability. This is what Yuan Mu, official spokesman of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, told foreign journalists today.

He pointed out that in the past three years the volume of trade and economic links between China and its northern neighbor has grown 10-fold and reached $3.9 billion last year. China was supplying the USSR with foodstuffs, consumer goods and textile, and receiving in return fertilizers, timber, and machinery construction output, as well as leasing some machinery.

At present Li Lanqing, Chinese minister of external economic ties and foreign trade, is on a trip to five republics of the former USSR: Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan. He is accompanied by Tian Zengpei, deputy minister of foreign affairs, whose task is to prepare the establishment of diplomatic relations with the independent states.

PRC 'Willing' To Join Nonproliferation Treaty

OW2812055991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 25 Dec 91

[From the "Asian Affairs" prgram]

[Text] Dear Listeners, the meeting of the Chinese National People's Congress, or the Chinese parliament, which opened in Beijing, began a discussion of China's participation in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The following is a commentary by station observer Alekseyev:

Reports dispatched by reporters of various news agencies from Beijing all emphasized that the debate on the issue was very likely to go on for several days. None of the reporters, however, doubted that a positive decision would emerge in the end. They drew their conclusions based on repeated statements made recently by Chinese leaders. For example, last month, when U.S. Secretary of State James Baker visited China, Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, gave a clear indication that China was willing to sign the treaty.

Here, I would like to mention briefly that the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty has been in existence for 33 years. So far, 118 countries have signed the treaty, including four of the five major nuclear-armed nations. In 1968, when work began to formulate the treaty, China had already entered its fourth year of possession of nuclear arms. Then and later, however, China did not itself sign the treaty.

Today, I do not want to talk about the reasons behind Beijing's past stand on the treaty. I want to say only this: In the past, China's foreign policy had for a long time been under the influence of the Cultural Revolution and extremist theories. Fortunately, this foreign policy has since been gone long. Instead, for many years on the international stage China has demonstrated a high level of repsonsibility toward the threat of nuclear arms. It has long advocated active cooperation among nations to reduce such threats.

It is against this background that China is making preparations to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. There is no doubt that this move by the Chinese has special immediate significance, as the need to prevent proliferation of nuclear arms is more urgent than ever. The possibility of the spread of these terrible arms, including the Asia-Pacific region, is escalating. Regionally or globally, it is the unshirkable duty of all nations—especially major nuclear-armed nations—to strengthen control of nuclear arms. One of the ways to reach this goal is to strictly implement the system for preventing the proliferation of nuclear arms, stipulated under the treaty formulated in 1968. China's participation in the treaty undoubtedly will contribute to this effort.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Firms Open Talks on Commonwealth Aid

LD3012152291 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Tokyo December 30 TASS—Preliminary talks have begun between Japan's major trade and industrial companies and the Russian Prodintorg association for the delivery of food to the member-countries of the newly-established Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

The two sides expect to sign the first agreement on the purchase of food within the framework of a credit of 100 million dollars which Tokyo promised to grant to the former Soviet Union in December last year, the newspaper NIHON KEIZAI reports today.

The start of the current talks was prompted by a list of foodstuffs which CIS member-states would like to purchase from Japan. The list had been prepared by the Prodintorg recently on a commission from the CIS member-states, the newspaper writes.

Taking part in the talks are more than 10 leading Japanese companies including the Mitsubishi Kioji and Missui Busan. An aggregate value of the prospective deal is expected to amount to more than 10 billion yen.

However the problem is that the implementation of the agreement will be started only after the question about an official recipient of Japanese aid is finally decided upon.

Earlier it was expected that the state-run export and import bank of Japan would grant 100 million dollars as a loan to the Soviet foreign economic bank (Vneshekonombank) of the Soviet Union.

Following the elimination of the USSR and the emergence of the CIS, Vneshekonombank discontinued its activities. Therefore the Japanese Government now awaits a reply from the CIS member-states which should name a bank to which the funds are to be remitted and give guarantees of the repayment of the loan, NIHON KEIZAI reports.

If this is done, talks on the implementation under new conditions of a package of Japanese measures for economic assistance to the former Soviet Union to the tune of 2.5 billion U.S. dollars may begin immediately after the 100-million-dollar credit is granted. The package of such measures was announced by the Japanese Government in October this year.

Commentator Views Talks on Nuclear-Free Korea

SK3112080491 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Commentary by station report Aleksey Kondrachev—from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Working contacts between the delegates of the South and North of Korea will continue tomorrow, 31

December, at Panmunjom straddling the demarcation line. They will discuss how to realize the plan for converting the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

Station reporter Aleksey Kondrachev voices his views on these talks:

Regrettably, the two sides of Korea failed to produce any tangible results at the first of their talks. The ROK has called on North Korea to be specific about the date for signing with the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] an agreement on placing its nuclear facilities under the latter's inspection.

Pyongyang has agreed in principle to hold talks with the IAEA on the inspection. However, it has refused to set a definite date for signing the nuclear safeguards accord.

Now, does that mean that the two sides of Korea have entered a new blind alley in guaranteeing nuclear safeguards on the Korean peninsula?

I do not think so. First, the two sides of Korea have come to the basic, mutual understanding that they need to declare the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone.

Second, both Seoul and Pyongyang recently have expressed great hope for realizing this plan. In saying this, I remember Seoul's declaration that it will not produce, possess, or store nuclear weapons inside its territorial bounds.

On the other hand, Pyongyang, let me repeat it, has agreed in principle to hold talks on nuclear safeguards.

According to some people's expectation, the North Korean people are expected to assert the peaceful nature of their nuclear research project. This is not a lie or an attempt to deceive [words indistinct]. It seems that too much concern has been expressed about their desire to possess atomic bombs.

The fact that affirmative results were produced at the talks between the high-level officials of the two sides shows a favorable atmosphere exists for successful settlement of their differences over the nuclear issue.

The North and South of Korea recently signed an historical Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Cooperation and Exchange. In addition, the hope for Seoul and Pyongyang to reach an agreement on denuclearing the Korean peninsula will lead to withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from the peninsula. The ROK President already made a statement on this.

Pyongyang demands that Washington provide official assurance that it has withdrawn its nuclear weapons from the Korean peninsula. It is possible that U.S. President Bush may well make such a confirmation during his visit to the Asian and Pacific countries. He is scheduled to visit the ROK.

Simply put, in my personal view, there is possibility [words indistinct] was an optimism. I am convinced that the differences between the two sides of Korea over the nuclear issue some day soon will come to an end through compromise and, in the end, the door to the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula will be opened.

Near East & South Asia

Yakovlev's Role in Afghanistan Discussed

LD3112104191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1652 GMT on 27 December carries a 45-minute program in a series entitled "Political Investigation—Behind The Scenes of War," in which presidential adviser Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev responds to questions from journalists Mikhail Leshchinskiy and Ada Petrova about the Afghan war and the arguments which raged in the Politburo over whether or not to withdraw.

Leshchinskiy reminds Yakovlev that the war continued for almost four years under Gorbachev, and that he was a member of the Soviet leadership at that time. Recalling this period, Yakovlev says:

"As I see it, people started saying first that the black-out on news of this war should be ended. After all, we were making out that there was no war. You remember how it was. People started saying that all this should end. Right from the start the view of the president—actually he was still general secretary at that time—his view was that a peaceful withdrawal should be effected. I can confirm that this was so. How was this received? First of all—this is my personal view, maybe I'm mistaken—first of all the voices of outright advocates of the war, those who would say that it was all justified, that it should be carried through to its conclusion, were not all that prominent, for some reason. They—the former foreign minister, for instance—they only raised their voices when challenged. I remember on one occasion Shevardnadze asked who was responsible, who was accountable in the top leadership. I remember Andrey Andreyevich exploding with wrath. The others were all the same, it seemed."

Petrova asks: "And what did he say?"

Yakovlev replies: "He said that this was a collective decision, that it was necessary in the context of the international situation and that it was wrong to condemn the war several years after it had started, six or so years after it had started.

"The situation developed as follows. Whenever the question came up, Mikhail Sergeyevich said that Soviet troops should withdraw. Everybody agreed. But then the most terrible things started happening [pauses]...the implementation was sabotaged. Whether you like it or not, this was sabotage. It was either deliberate or objective sabotage. The evacuation was hampered. The road was blocked, cut in two places. Then they found that a bridge had been blown up somewhere. Then it was said that the air force could not get through to Kabul. There

was some kind of conference going on there. I don't remember exactly. Too much cargo had piled up—aid for Afghanistan. So, there were these transport difficulties. Time passed and objections were raised from the Afghan side, strange as it may seem."

Leshchinskiy asks: "Kabul?"

Yakovlev responds: "Yes. It accused us of leaving it in the lurch. It moaned that Afghanistan would soon collapse, that reprisals would start and so on."

Leshchinskiy interjects: "And there was another aspect. It was alleged that throughout the world our friends would not understand us, they would regard us as traitors."

Yakovlev then recalls how he and Shevardnadze were bombarded with questions by the military representatives on the Politburo commission. He says that it was a clever tactic because there were many questions they couldn't answer.

Yakovlev continues: "It is easy enough now to say that the military were against withdrawal. Varennikov, for example, was a member of the commission. But Varennikov never once said that he favored the continuation of the war in Afghanistan. He didn't say any such thing. The whole time they were putting forward seemingly objective and reasonable arguments. But when you put them all together, day after day—and we met there every week or 10 days, it varied—when you put them all together in a logical pattern, it became apparent that they were deliberately holding things up, spinning things out in order to put off the moment when it would be possible to say: That's it, we're getting out.

Petrova asks: "Aleksandr Nikolayevich. Who belonged to this commission? Can you name the members? How many members were there and who...?"

Yakovlev interrupts, saying: "As far I can remember, the members of the commission were—apart from us—KGB Chairman Chebrikov. The minister of defense and Kryuchkov, too, were always at the meetings—he flew there several times."

Leshchinskiy states: "After all, he started the whole thing off, more or less."

Yakovlev says: "Yes, yes, yes. He often flew there, using the alias of Aleksandrov. From the military there was the chief of general staff. At that time it was Akhromeyev, I believe. At any rate I remember him being at these meetings of ours. The tactics of our adversaries were as follows. OK, they would say, we are willing, ultimately, to fix a day. But everything will collapse. Afghanistan will quickly fall into the hands of the Americans, through Pakistan. Everything will collapse, everything will be lost, they said. We will have the real enemy on our doorstep. The frontier of hostility and confrontation will come closer and grow bigger. The one thing that helped, and saved us, was the fact that Mikhail Sergeyevich was on our side. He was of course more cautious than us. But, all the same, he sympathized with our view that the most important thing was to achieve a settlement."

Leshchinskiy states: " So there were two sides, two opposing teams. On the one side there was the military, the KGB, and so on. On the other side were people who had a fresh approach—Shevardnadze, you, and Gorbachev. There were these two forces opposing each other."

Yakovlev says: "Yes, that was absolutely obvious. However, I repeat, this was a war in which casualties were being suffered. Not one of them wanted to come out openly and say that the whole thing was right."

Leshchinskiy asks: "Or that it should continue?"

Yakovlev responds: "Yes, that it should continue. But there were all these contrived and devious ways of spinning it out."

Yakovlev goes on to say that the Army suggested that military aid to the regime should be stepped up before any withdrawal was contemplated, while Baklanov was asked to send Scud missiles to Afghanistan, to which he agreed, with some having been sent. Leshchinskiy asks why the military wanted the war to continue, and Yakovlev blames the military-industrial complex, as millions of people were involved in the arms manufacturing industry, and the Soviet military-industrial complex never wanted military spending to be cut. He suggests that self-interest overcame commonsense.

Leshchinskiy continues: "We arrived there in May 1985 to begin our work. Initially we came under heavy pressure to say nothing about the war. The Soviet Army was not there at all—only avenues of friendship. But suddenly, about a month later—I don't remember exactly when, some time in June—there came an order from Lapin, in Moscow. Do some reports on Soviet combat operations, quickly. Maybe you know what lay behind this? Why was there this sudden change?"

Yakovlev answers: "I will tell you. The difficulties, the maneuvering in the commission and the Politburo, increased. You could only guess what people were really thinking. They would say one thing and clearly be thinking something completely different. This had to be read between the lines, so to speak. Suddenly, somebody had the idea of actually showing what was really happening. This put pressure on..."

Petrova interjects: "Who did this idea come from?"

Yakovlev continues: "The idea came from—it's difficult now to say whose idea it was. But of course it came from us, the ones who wanted to speed up all these processes. But I remember that Mikhail Sergeyevich came down firmly on our side. Why not show it, he said. Why keep it all secret? Let's show it. On the whole, this process of glasnost—applied to the war—helped us a very great deal in bringing closer the withdrawal."

Yakovlev then talks about letters which began appearing in the press asking what the Army was doing in Afghanistan, why it was doing so badly. He recalls that funerals of soldiers killed in action were reported. He continues by pointing out that when the withdrawal was completed on 15 February, there was no celebration, no measures to welcome the Army home. The general feeling was "Thank God, it's over," he says. Leshchinskiy suggests that the withdrawal from Afghanistan was the sole real achievement of perestroyka, while Yakovlev says that the withdrawal should have taken place earlier.

Leshchinskiy then says: "Aleksandr Nikolayevich, I want to ask you another question. I am asking it of all the leaders we interview. That famous meeting of the Politburo—I don't recall the exact date, whether it was 1, 2 or 3 February—the meeting at which it was decided to withdraw the troops. We were already in our vehicles, along with General Gromov. What sort of discussion did you have there? I know that there was some heated argument, that there were disagreements."

Yakovlev says "Yes," and Leshchinskiy continues: "A decision was being made at that very moment as to whether to withdraw all the troops or not."

Yakovlev responds: "There was indeed some tough talking, disagreement. Each side tried—how shall I put it—to force the other to accept responsibility. If you make this decision, you must accept responsibility for the consequences. So this shining, gleaming ping-pong ball of responsibility flew back and forth. Where would the buck stop?"

Yakovlev recalls how the military predicted that the regime would collapse within a week or two, and that there would be a bloodbath. They were wrong on both counts, Yakovlev says.

Petrova then asks: "Who had the final say? Gorbachev?"

Yakovlev says: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, of course, he had the final say. Enough hesitation, he said, the troops must be withdrawn. That's all there is to it. They must be withdrawn."

Petrova and Leshchinskiy both say that we must all be thankful to him for his decision.

Leshchinskiy points out that although Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Afghanistan, the former USSR is still arming and financing the Kabul Government. Yakovlev says it is a case of "We are helping because you are helping." He concludes by expressing his relief that Soviet and U.S. arms shipments to the two sides will end on 1 January.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Departure From Presidency Observed

TV Program Viewed

LD2612215691

[Editorial report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1933 GMT on 26 December broadcasts a 28-minute program introduced by the presenter as "Gorbachev's Departure" (Kak Ukhodil Gorbachev). The presenter says the program was produced jointly by Gosteleradio and ABC News and notes that it will be shown on U.S. television in seven hours time on the Prime Time Live program. Reception is good.

U.S. journalist Ted Koppel and a film crew accompanied Gorbachev during his last few days in office, recording interviews and meetings as they occurred. Video shows Gorbachev arriving in the Kremlin by car on 20 December. Video shows the Alma-Ata meeting and Yeltsin announcing arrangements for Gorbachev's resignation.

Koppel says Gorbachev gave permission for the cameras to be present during his meeting with Yeltsin but Yeltsin denied them access. Some of Gorbachev's aides give brief opinions on the events. Gorbachev is shown meeting his aides for the last time.

Speaking to Koppel, Gorbachev recalls his meetings with U.S. Presidents Reagan and Bush and gives his assessment of his personal position. Film is shown of Gorbachev's last telephone conversation with U.S. President Bush. After Gorbachev's televised resignation speech, he answers some last questions about his personal plans for the future and the fate of the "nuclear button." Gorbachev complains about the conduct of some of Yeltsin's aides. Finally, Gorbachev is shown being driven away from the Kremlin.

Liquidation Committee Formed

LD3012211391 Moscow TASS in English
1648 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—The last few officials of Mikhail Gorbachev's chancery and secretariat left the Kremlin on Sunday [29 December] and moved to a house on Varvarka Street in the old centre of Moscow.

Fifty of them formed the liquidation committee of the ex-president's apparatus. One of them told TASS today: "We will not leave until all our officials are given jobs, no matter what offers we ourselves get."

He said the Russian leadership highly valued the qualification of the ex-president's apparatus and promised to give a worthy job to every competent official.

Members of the liquidation committee also said President Boris Yeltsin favoured the creation of a "Gorbachev fund" and we shall probably see Mikhail Gorbachev in a new quality within two weeks, during which he will be unaccessible to pressmen.

Interviewed by Berlin Newspaper

WA3012100891 Paris AFP in English
0918 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Berlin December 30 (AFP)—Former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev said improving living standards should be the "number one priority" of the new Commonwealth of Independent States, in a newspaper interview here.

"We need deep social changes because we are in a serious crisis," he said in the interview that appeared Monday [30 December] in the BERLINER KURIER AM ABEND.

"We must now concentrate on setting up a market economy so that people see improvement in their personal lives. And that must happen as quickly as possible," Gorbachev said.

The former president continued to defend socialist ideals, but said the "model that failed before history was the Stalinist form of socialism. This had to be destroyed. It was against the most important principles of socialism."

Gorbachev also warned that his fellow citizens in the old Soviet Union should not worship capitalism, adding that the search for a true socialist society would continue "on the basis of rapprochement rather than confrontation".

Shevardnadze Felt 'Humiliated', 'Disillusioned'

LD2712213291 Paris Antenne-2 Television Network in French 1900 GMT 27 Dec 91

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Gilles Rabine; place and date not given; Shevardnadze speaks in Russian with superimposed French translation—recorded]

[Text] [Shevardnadze] I have indeed felt humiliated, but not by the way I was treated in the past few days. I felt humiliated because for over a year now my warnings and predictions have not been taken into account. This cost the country and the peoples of this country a great deal. This, indeed, has outraged me and made me feel totally helpless. Had I been listened to before and after my resignation, had they paid more attention to my analyses, I believe, no, I am certain, there would have been no putsch. Without a putsch, the treaty of the Union could have been signed and all this would have, could have, been avoided. This is my conviction. Had I been listened to, all this could have been avoided. I am profoundly disillusioned and have a deep feeling of bitterness.

[Rabine] You think that the Union could have been saved?

[Shevardnadze] Obviously, had there been no putsch, it could have been saved.

[Rabine] The Soviet Union no longer exists and neither does Soviet citizenship. Is it difficult for you to return to Georgia right now and live there? What is your nationality today?

[Shevardnadze] In theory I am Georgian, one who lives in Moscow, a citizen of Moscow. I think I want to remain Georgian, while being useful to Russia and other states. This problem of nationality you are raising will not only concern me but virtually all families in the country. The signatories of the new Commonwealth have not sufficiently considered the issue of nationality. They will undoubtedly now seek solutions. They must do so because this affects all families. It has been so in this country for decades and even centuries. People travelled and settled down almost everywhere, married someone of a different nationality. Mothers and fathers today have children and grandchildren in several republics. What will be the future of these people? There is no real answer yet. It seems that this is not only the problem of a citizen or a personality but one concerning the 300 million inhabitants of the former Union.

Democratic Reform Congress Held 14-15 Dec

Yakovlev Report

924B0164A Moscow KULTURA in Russian
No 15, 21 Dec 91 pp 1, 3

[A.N. Yakovlev "Political report" at the Democratic Reform Movement Congress: "The Present and the Imminent"]

[Text] **The Democratic Reform Movement Constituent Congress was held 14-15 December. An attempt was made to unite the efforts of different parties and public organizations and unite the citizens in the consistent transformation of our entire life. The program goals of the movement and its organizational, spiritual, and moral precepts are discussed in the speech at the opening of the congress by E. Shevardnadze and in the political report of A. Yakovlev, an account of which we provide on page three, and also in the commentary of our observer I. Zaramenskiy.**

(Summarized account)

The main aspect of today's situation is its most profound intrinsic paradoxicalness and confusion. All that weighed down as a stone on the fate of the people and which held us tightly in the past and walled us off from the least possibility of democracy, common sense and long-urgent changes has dropped off or been destroyed, it would seem. And the road to the most progressive transformations has, seemingly, been opened.

But trends making democratic prospects increasingly difficult and remote are blazing a trail for themselves increasingly strongly in real life. Such trends are present in all spheres without exception. They are raising the plank of probability of an increase in chaos and violence and thereby of authoritarian aspirations as the allegedly sole effective method of overcoming all that is destructive.

It is clear today that the revolution "from above" is played out. It was as of the summer of 1988, perhaps, standing at a fork in the road:

overcoming itself in some sense and becoming a genuinely popular, democratic and most far-reaching revolution really bringing society the plenitude of freedoms—economic, political, spiritual—natural for the end of the 20th century;

or, on the other hand:

remaining true to itself and confining itself to its own circle—and then either suffering defeat from Stalinist reactionaries and Brezhnevite conservatism or running the risk of finding itself stolen away from itself by the forces which are merely taking cover behind its words and slogans, but which in reality aspire merely to redistribute power within the framework of the former social relationships.

Perestroyka was unable to master itself. The sociopolitical forces of the people which it wakened went unclaimed, and the old structures remained here, and they continued to act against the transformations, and as of the fall of 1990 reactionaries and conservatives rose to open struggle, which logically led to the August putsch.

Subsequent events have not simplified the situation but complicated it even to a large extent. This is partly explained, in the speaker's opinion, by the fact that the process of an intensification of the reforms has been delayed and that a protracted ascertainment of the country in which we are living and in what kind of country we will be living continues. At the same time, however, barely manageable, albeit inevitable, transformations of the very foundations of the state arrangement have begun.

The state was the main instrument of the policy, economics and ideology of Stalinism. All that was "achieved" in the elimination of entire ses and estates, in collectivization and industrializ n, in the total suppression of the individual, in mass physical, spiritual and moral repression and in much else was achieved through the mechanisms of the totalitarian, militarized and super-bureaucratized state.

Such a state and renewal are incompatible. It had either to have conquered, once again suppressing and subordinating to itself society and man, or to have collapsed, giving way to fundamentally different relationships between society and the individual on the one hand and the state on the other. In the latter case the state ceases to

be a total proprietor and becomes a spokesman for the balance of interests of a multitude of the most diverse and equal proprietors.

Having said all this, something else needs to be said also. Relations which simply cannot be severed without the severest upheaval of the whole of society have evolved and become intertwined over decades and centuries in the space of the USSR. Cannot without an economic and cultural decline, without human tragedies and without detriment to the country's international positions, in their purely material terms included. Unfortunately, these are already bitter facts of life. But this by no means signifies that it is necessary for a rectification of the situation to return to the old Union. It is necessary to arrange the state anew in accordance with the demands which correspond to the goals of freedom, democracy and the central and highest position of man and his primacy over the state.

At the time of the referendum Soviet people spoke in favor of an integral state, guided by the new ideas concerning the paths and possibilities of its renewal. Today the situation is different. Like a bolt from the blue has come the Belovezhskoye agreement, around which today passions are raging and the most diverse opinions are being expressed. It has raised many questions, and there are as yet few answers. The main one among them is the legal, constitutional question, if we really want to build a state based on the rule of law, in which not people but laws rule.

Proceeding from realities, it would be prudent regarding the Belovezhskaya agreement as an initiative, as a search for a way out of the deadlock. Time really does not wait. The situation is truly too difficult and menacing for efforts to be expended on dictatorial civil strife at all levels. I believe that we have approached the point at which public accord is essential: on both the form of statehood and the economy. A plebiscite with clearly formulated questions would, most likely, be useful, although we are weary of the sequence of elections and ballots. From the constitutional standpoint the new association could be completed by a constituent congress, whose delegates would be elected by party list. Other versions also, a compromise between the draft Union Treaty and the Belovezhskoye agreement, for example, are possible.

There is one leading criterion here: All decisions must work in favor of man, not politicians. In favor of democracy, freedom and the revival of all peoples. The peoples need to live and to make the decisions also.

The key to effective revival are human rights and a real change in man's position in society and in relation to the state—such are the sole basis, aim and criterion of democratization and renewal. People's position from this viewpoint has not improved, rather it has become more vulnerable.

We are obliged to say as clearly as can be today:

that we observe with alarm the growth of antidemocratic trends and manifestations in many places; we sharply condemn such practice as anticonstitutional and antipopular and as being contrary to recognized international commitments;

that we see as a serious obstacle in the way of reforms today the coalescence of Black Hundredism, national chauvinism, and the imperial mentality and are convinced that, given the country's division on a national basis, these dangerous phenomena could acquire new opportunities, the rapid growth of neofascism included;

that our movement sets as its cardinal task defense of the rights and liberties of the individual and the constant assertion for this purpose of the principle of a separation of powers into legislative, executive and judicial and the prevention of monopoly of power via an effective opposition.

Democratic forces and trends are currently passing through an extremely dangerous period. Dangerous not so much in terms of the external threat to them as of the possibility of internal degeneration capable of culminating in new authoritarianism. The former reasons for people's dissatisfaction have yet to be removed, but new ones are already being engendered.

Real restructuring is being sabotaged by old forces, which have rapidly changed their attire. They see as the meaning and purpose of renewal the preservation of their positions, offices and authority and their privileges and possibilities. The level of lawlessness and corruption has risen by an order of magnitude at least, and the presence, on the other hand, of centers of restraint and their effectiveness have declined to the same extent, if not more.

Man has come to enjoy even fewer rights. Life is bad. He is hungry and angry, dangerously angry. He has turned his back on the old system, but is already turning away also from what is associated with democratic power. Unless these trends are intercepted at the start, unless the brakes are applied to them now, this means that the gate to new disasters will be opened. This will be mass hysteria intensified by interethnic clashes and a settling of scores by all against all. This will be the triumph of the basest passions, which will sweep aside both the new democracy and yesterday's reactionaries.

This is why the tasks of resistance to anarchy and egotism garbed in democracy confront us squarely. Resistance to the phenomena of selfishness, political and social myopia and the time-server mentality.

This means **that we must become essentially a civil rights-defending, rights-asserting and rights-civilizing movement.**

I believe that it would be useful in this context to discuss also the following question: Should our movement be considered a constructive opposition movement? There

are such sentiments. They are evoked also by the fundamental aspect and the prospects of the multiparty system. And the actual situation and current events and their evolution. And to some extent also, most likely, by echoes of the time when the movement was conceived as an opposition to the monopolism of the CPSU.

But would an opposition approach be justified everywhere and always? Whom and what would it oppose? It is necessary to look at problems very specifically and individually here, with regard for all local conditions. Different approaches are possible, and there could be justification for all of them.

There arises for each party or movement as the first order of business the question of the program. In accordance with the proposal of A. Yakovlev, **the movement's ideology should be practical work on the organization of a normal life by the efforts of the individual himself and common sense in all things.** Not hypotheses frequently becoming a destructive utopia. This program appears as one imbibing seven "de-'s": de-parasitization, demilitarization, de-nationalization, de-collectivization, de-industrialization—environmental—de-monopolization and de-anarchization. This is in fact a set of cardinal measures restructuring all relations in society—economic, social, ideological and moral—and affecting each individual, outfit and the state.

Living at one's own expense, on what has been earned by labor, must become an irreversible moral requirement of all. Establishing it is the most difficult thing standing in the way of each and every reform, of democracy, with its demands on the individual, all the more. Our state is the sole state in world history which for decades prohibited the individual from earning as much as he could. The lumpen called the Biblical eternal verity "in the sweat of their brow" "grabbing," "bourgeoisification," "degeneration," "selfish interest" and so forth. According to the most modest estimates, there are in the country currently more than 40 million parasitical positions. Their number is increasing with every passing day.

We need to add here the multitude of unprofitable enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, whose employees do not feed themselves and, consequently, live as parasites on others. And all of us—knowingly or unwittingly—live as parasites on nature. It is a good thing that we have not been short-changed when it comes to resources.

We have endured enough and lost even more in all respects from the procedure whereby all property was state-owned. A new class—a class of administrators—was born. Given no one's property, it became renowned for its lack of responsibility and its opportunity for shifting onto the shoulders of the people all the burdens and losses brought about by incompetence, selfishness and immorality.

Having removed from the people the right of ownership, they were not freed—they were turned into a collective slave, condemned to growing lumpenization and made totally dependent not only on the state but also on any petty government official, and at the same time unique opportunities for the coalescence of crime and the state were created.

Our goal is to make the economy independent, and man, economically free. This means wresting the enterprises from official sway, transferring their jurisdiction only to the law and taxes and creating a new social stratum, a stratum of entrepreneurs, managers, private farmers and other representatives of the third estate. Not "industry" subordinate to a center or other feudal lord but the free economic activity of millions of free economic subjects—collective and private—the existence of enterprises of all types and sizes, the engagement of all potential niches on the market and the possibility of competing for them and occupying them—this is what could save our country!

Hitherto the lion's share of the economy has worked purely for the military sphere. The next biggest share, for industry. And only six percent approximately, for man, that is, the social efficiency of the "socialist" economy was somewhere around the steam-engine level. Formulation of the task of demilitarization is not an abandonment of defense and the Army, as those for whom speculation on pseudo-patriotism long since became a bottomless trough are preaching, but the transition of defense and the army to a rational track and the unconditional requirement of efficiency, professionalism, an ability to correlate expenditure and result and accountability to the authorities and society as a whole.

Almost half a century has elapsed since the end of World War II, and we still cannot grasp how much in the way of resources has been squandered on military needs, in which direction and how precisely. We need to clearly and candidly acknowledge that military-economic rivalry is beyond us, that becoming involved in it was impermissible from the very outset and that it has long been time to put an end to it.

Freedom of management on the land and the right of ownership of the land, the utmost development of private farming and the conversion of the kolkhozes into genuine cooperatives operating on the market on a common basis—this is the main path of a solution of the food problem, in the speaker's opinion. It is well known that the Marxist classics had no love of the peasantry. It was, according to them, suspicious and stupid and avaricious and endlessly engendering the bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks behaved in a peasant country like foreign conquerors. Everything—accommodations, grain, livestock and goods and chattels—was taken away from the peasantry. And even now the peasant home stands on land which does not belong to its owner.

The country's recovery can only come from the land. There can be no compromise here, bearing in mind that the kolkhoz-sovkhoz Agrogulag is strong and boundlessly lumpenized. **We are doomed unless we carry through land reform to the end and unless the peasant**

receives land. The Democratic Reform Movement's position must be clear and consistent here.

A legislative prohibition on all forms of monopolism is an invigorating condition of development. Monopoly not only rots itself but also pulls into the abyss both the economy and society. It condemns them to technical and other lagging. It sows around itself corruption and bureaucratism. It objectively buttresses and multiplies authoritarian trends in social life.

The paradox of our society is that the most brutal totalitarianism got along and continues to get along well with unprecedented anarchism. Naturally, arbitrary action from above affords scope for arbitrary action at all other levels also. Having done with this "rotation" is possible only by the elevation to an absolute of the legal system, law and legality.

But the problem today is not only one of anarchy and the triumph of lawlessness. The problem is the absence of trust in the state and its bodies. Under these conditions any policy becomes ineffective, and the citizens perceive new laws not as a prudent necessity but as yet another assault on them. A particular slice of this problem is the ingrained habit of violation of the law on the part of both the lawmaker and the executant. Much has been done of late to ensure that the restoration of trust in the state and its laws has been put back decades.

Legal nihilism has reached a catastrophic level. Unless the new authorities be think themselves in time and unless the new body of government officials comes to its senses, all democratic initiatives will be buried beneath the rubble of a destructive anarchy. Pondering the future of the country and the aims and impending activity of our movement, the speaker went on to say, one inevitably concludes that **the most serious of the crises which we are experiencing currently lies in the moral sphere.**

Society is held together either by morality or violence. There is no other way. Morality is not only the Biblical commandments, it is an attitude toward life and the work ethic.

The contradiction between creators and parasites, producers and drones and people of morality and the disciples of militant amoralism is primordially embedded in society. But only the 20th century with its level of demands on the individual has brought this contradiction to the forefront of history. And rarely has it anywhere assumed such seriousness as with us, where society and the state were from the very outset built on the deliberate suppression of the former and the exaltation of the latter.

Without man's real economic freedom and sovereignty of ownership we will never extricate ourselves from the pommeling and tugging of the authorities and from egotisms and corruption—whoever the rulers come to be. Our movement does not address itself to one class or group. We appeal to all—regardless of their social affiliation—who aspire to realize themselves in life in any capacity. Who want to work, earn and achieve. To people who have an active position in life. To all who see as the basis of social organization man's common sense, not the perverted logic of bureaucratism. Who live in accordance with morality and the law. There are such people in all social strata. They are the true mainstay of society, and without them society is dead.

Everyone in this hall also came to understand the need for reforms by his own route, but all together and the country have trodden a common path also. The transformations have begun, and society can no longer be "frozen" in a transitional state. Processes will inevitably go further. It is merely a question of whether they will go spontaneously, under the influence of a clash of cupidity and ambitions, or in recognized and purposive fashion, with the maximum responsibility to the people and the world.

The sole intelligent path today is that of radical change via reforms, broad accord, the constitutional process and the sovereign power of the people and a revival of the institutions and values of the civil society. Such a path is still possible, given a responsible attitude on the part of leading political forces toward the historical destiny of the fatherland. To this end we must be ready to cooperate with all parties, forces, movements and unions which adhere to the positions of social and political and economic reforms and the defense of democracy, if a danger of its suppression or elimination arises. There should be no preset patterns here.

The level of culture in general and of political culture in particular is manifested in everything that happens. The movement must make the enhancement of political culture one of its goals. And itself firmly adhere to the standards and rules which characterize contemporary political and parliamentary culture—both in its own internal affairs and in everything else.

I am convinced, A.N. Yakovlev said in conclusion, that the time for social and political reformism has come not only for our country but for all mankind, which is completing the 20th century with the recognition that it cannot solve a single one of its true problems by force. In other words, it is a question of the need for a balance of interests, that is, compromise, to be found.

Man's wisdom lies in his capacity for seeing and greeting life such as it is. For finding the rational and morally mature decision, not resorting either to the weakness of force or the complex of a starry-eyed utopia. The free man is he who is not afraid of cognition and self-cognition and for whom conscience is the highest value.

Shevardnadze Opening Speech

924B0164B Moscow KULTURA in Russian No 15, 21 Dec 91 p 3

[Report on opening speech by E. Shevardnadze at Democratic Reform Movement Congress: "The Main Thing Is That We Make a Start"]

[Text] "It is most often not given to people whose will changes the course of history," E. Shevardnadze, chairman of the organizing committee, said, opening the DRM [Democratic Reform Movement] Congress, "to divine whether this is good or bad for the future, although, of course, the 'we can no longer go on living like this' motive and a belief in their rightness and aspiration to a better popular lot are predominant in their behavior. The congress has assembled at a pivotal moment in history—this much is obvious. And the main question which confronts the country and the world today is whether the sudden change will result in the demolition of the life of the peoples and the individual. Closely connected with this question is another which is most important for the movement: Is our democracy and the entire spectrum of forces representing it capable of averting or, at least, mitigating such a development of the process?

"At the state and political level the attempt has been made. The agonizing quest for a way out of the deadlock, to which the sabotage of perestroyka and the direct frustration of the implementation of democratic reforms had driven the country, has culminated in the conclusion of the Minsk agreements. As a whole, it has encountered understanding. The joint statement of the leaders of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan on the results of their meeting in Ashkhabad is imbued with a balanced and fair approach. Many people have breathed a sigh of relief, and the unchecked slide toward the edge of the abyss has been stopped. The triple agreement signified the starting line of a most arduous and lengthy transition, which we will have to negotiate together.

"The Union in the form in which it has existed for seven decades is a spent force. It has no future. And the Commonwealth in the form in which it is taking shape today still has its future to defend. Being a pragmatic person," E. Shevardnadze declared, "I cannot help but wonder at what price. And if it is true that the price is under the pressure of historical circumstances set by reality, I consider myself duty bound to convey to people what this is.

"The success or failure of the shaping of some integral whole—a commonwealth (what it is called is immaterial)—has become literally a question of life and death for a multitude of people. Under the conditions of the most profound crisis disconnection is fraught with colossal risk for each new national statehood.

"In the absence of mechanisms of the organized and concerted implementation of economic reforms a depth of economic decline next year to half the gross national product of the 1990 level and of a decline in the level of public consumption to 20 percent is forecast. According to certain forecasts, by mid-January 1992 many major enterprises of the base sectors of industry will have come to a halt and unemployment will have encompassed a multitude of people. It is difficult to give a figure even, it is so high. Such a version of the development of events could in terms of its consequences resemble the general postwar devastation, the surmounting of which would be complicated, however, by the absence of a single coordinating authority.

"It is naive to suppose that this havoc would affect some and would bypass others. All sovereign states would be pulled into a total economic depression with very palpable international consequences, which could put their political sovereignty at stake.

"In order to begin to untangle our problems without running the risk of becoming entangled completely it is essential to reach an agreement on the aspiration to a healthy balance of national and common interests. It was by no means the authors of the new thinking but titans of Russian thought, specifically Vladimir Solovyev, who formulated the principle of the consistent limitation of national egotism to avoid mortal threats to one's own national interests. It is essential, as a minimum, to establish some term of a transitional period, in the course of which methods of the regulation of our common domestic and international affairs may be harmonized.

"The past will constantly touch and wound us. And so that the wounds be as sparing as possible it is necessary to display concern in unison to coordinate actions. A conciliation body—not some imperial center but a center of accord—is needed. A dialogue conducted in the name of a grand compromise is needed. A moratorium on dissension, squabbling, convictions and political executions and some treaty on a 'general silence,' as Peter I's diplomacy once formulated the main condition of peace for a belligerent Europe, is needed.

"Finally, the concerted action of democratic forces bringing to the public and social consciousness the ideas of equality and the universality of respect for the rights of peoples and the individual is essential. Action is needed, and I see our movement," E. Shevardnadze appealed to the congress, "as a voluntary and free alliance of democratic forces operating independently in sovereign states. We cannot and do not wish to be some interstate superstructure but we can and are obliged—all together and each individually—operating once again in the national interests of our states, to strive for the affirmation in their life of some common principles.

"They are concentrated in three concepts: law, democracy, security. Law as a universal generality of approaches and rules recognizing no exceptions or exclusions therefrom for anyone, be he the president or an ordinary employee. Democracy as the fundamental canon of life recognizing the simple principle: my rights end where the rights of another begin. Security as a system of protective social mechanisms which automatically excludes from social practice actions threatening the interests and rights of the individual, the people and ethnic minorities, peace and humanity.

"Establishing democracy in a short space of time, declaring the ends and ignoring the means, is impossible. Formerly, inaugurating perestroyka," E. Shevardnadze

said in conclusion of his speech, "we failed to take account of the need for a precise determination of the stages which were inevitable en route to the stated goals. This needs to be avoided now—in the course of democratic reforms. Democracy is a path which needs to be negotiated and which it is impossible to negotiate by jumping from one condition to another. We are right at the start of it, and it, this start, must not be attended by a communist-type utopia. Without the youth, young politicians and statesmen and public figures and new leaders with new ideas the movement has no future. Our task is to find, support and bring them into the arena of politics. Even if we are not destined to see the outcome. The main thing is that we make a start."

Railway Leaders Urge Centralized Control

LD2912221191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Leaders of 22 railways in the former USSR have sent an appeal to Minsk, calling on the leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States not to do away yet with the system of centralized control of railroad transport still in operation. [video shows railroad rolling stock, passengers standing in line and waiting in a station]

[Correspondent B. Baryshnikov] It might seem that such concern is out of place, considering how many complaints are sent to the Ministry of Railways by commercial users and passengers because of the poor state of the railways, delays in cargo deliveries and passenger train arrivals, problems over obtaining tickets, the quality of service, and much besides. Even so, at the Ministry of Railways they believe that the disorder will be even greater and fresh intractable problems will arise if centralization is eliminated altogether in the railway system.

[Begin recording] [V. Zakharenko, first deputy chief of the main Transport Directorate] The main thing that needs to be said, the main thing of all, is that railway workers have never let the people down. Railway workers have not gone on strike anywhere. Whatever political passions may have been raging railway workers have worked, and that goes for all the railways without exception. Moreover, transport has to be seen as a unified mechanism, a unified system. Just imagine for a moment what would happen if we were to block some main line or other—well, the national economy would simply be paralyzed. It is for this reason that the heads of railways have appealed to the heads of government, insisting that a unified transport system is essential today. It is impossible to think of separating off, for instance, Ukraine's railways, the Caucasian railways, or the Central Asian railways. The railway network has to be a unified one, indivisible, and it has to operate from a single coordinating center. What we have now should be retained. [end recording; video shows interview with Zakharenko]

Report Assesses KGB Role in Aug Coup

924B0163A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 91 p 3

[Article by I. Kadulin: "The Lubyanka Theater: Characters..."]

[Text] When Vadim Bakatin was appointed USSR KGB chairman, he did not conceal what he came to Lubyanka for—to perform "surgery" on an incurably sick Committee. To verify the diagnosis, Bakatin lacked only the last volume of the "medical history" of the VChK [All-Russian Extraordinary Commission]—OGPU [United Main Political Directorate]—MGB [Ministry of State Security]—KGB—MSB [Interrepublic Security Service] (incidentally, the last name is expanded by sarcastic individuals as "the place where Bakatin serves [Mesto Sluzhby Bakatina]"). On 1 September, Bakatin issued Order No. 140, and soon a specially appointed commission placed on his desk this thin volume with only 15 or so pages. The awkward title "Findings on the Materials of the Investigation of the Role and Participation by USSR KGB Officials in the Events of 19-21 August 1991" concealed a mechanism of coercion and repression which had been created over 70 years and set in motion four months ago.

A copy of these findings and several secret encrypted messages from these days have ended up in our editorial office...

Actually, the idea of imposing a state of emergency in the country occurred to Chairman Kryuchkov apparently as early as December of last year, when he instructed Zhizhin, former deputy chief of PGU [First Chief Directorate] (Intelligence), and Yegorov, an aide to former USSR KGB First Deputy Grushko, to "effect a study of possible primary measures to stabilize the situation in the country for the event of imposition of a state of emergency." Kryuchkov's instructions were carried out, and the KGB chairman made use of the materials prepared as late as early August.

From the end of last year and through early August 1991, Kryuchkov and like-minded GKChP [State Committee for the State of Emergency] people still hoped to impose a state of emergency in the USSR by constitutional means. Having lost hope, they decided in early August to take their own path.

Kryuchkov embarked on preparing the coup in earnest on 7 August. On this summer day, his regular meetings with some of the future GKChP members, which lasted for eight days, began at a secret KGB PGU facility named "ABTs" located on Varga Street in Moscow.

At the same time, Zhizhin and Yegorov embarked on "revising the December documents on the issues of imposing a state of emergency in the country." Together with Lieutenant General P.S. Grachev, the former commander of Airborne Troops, they prepared "data on the possible response of the population of the country to the

imposition of a state of emergency status by constitutional means" for Vladimir Aleksandrovich. All of these materials were subsequently used in official documents of the GKChP. On 17 August, Zhizhin et al. prepared theses for the probable TV appearance by Kryuchkov in case a state of emergency was imposed.

On the eve, Kryuchkov sent all over the country an encrypted message with instructions to pay all functionaries of the committee "a one-time allowance in the amount of up to two salaries for the authorized positions held" in August and September 1991, apparently in an effort to win support among the bulk of the committee functionaries.

What role did Kryuchkov, the script writer and Bulgakov admirer, assign to the Committee in the August play? The lead!

First, functionaries of the Committee were to remove the USSR president from power "by means of isolating him."

Second, they were to check "probable attempts by the RSFSR president to offer resistance to the activities of the GKChP."

Third, they were to keep the leaders of the democratic movement under surveillance and subsequently apprehend them.

Fourth, together with special units of the Ministry of Defense and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], they were to storm the building of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, subsequently interning those captured, including the Russian leadership.

All of these "measures" were to be taken swiftly and in a coordinated manner. Was the elderly chairman, aged almost 70, in a position to organize all of this single-handedly? Of course he was not.

Kryuchkov's First Deputy Grushko became his main assistant. He took part in meetings between Kryuchkov and the members of the future GKChP and in the operation of the so-called Baklanov group. Grushko directly prepared the arrest of Yeltsin, and on 20 August ordered that the so-called Separate Training Center of the USSR KGB, special unit "B," the reconnaissance and sabotage group of the PGU, which subsequently was placed at the disposal of another first deputy, Ageyev, be committed to storm the "White House..." Fortunately, the unexpected happened: PGU Chief Shebarshin to whom Group "B" reported ordered its chief Boris Beskov not to do anything without his consent. Beskov himself supported Karpukhin, the chief of "Alpha," and refused to storm the "White House..." Generals Gorshkov and Ionov, the chief and deputy chief of the 15th Main (Bunker) Directorate of the USSR KGB, which is in charge of government land lines, took the same position, despite the fact that on 20 August, Ageyev ordered them to form a reserve group of 200 men.

In addition, Geniy Ageyev assumed command of "measures to isolate the 'Dawn' facility" in Foros (the code name for Gorbachev's dacha), ordered that the 79th Border Guard Detachment and the 5th Separate Brigade of Border Guard Patrol Escorts be placed under the command of USSR KGB Guard Service Chief Plekhanov and his deputy Generalov, isolation of the leadership of Russia be prepared, the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium building be blocked jointly with the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Soviet Army, and operational groups for enforcing the state of emergency be formed and dispatched to Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

On 15 August, acting on Kryuchkov's personal instructions, Ageyev gave instructions to Major General Kalgin, chief of the USSR KGB 12th Department, and Beda, chief of the Government Communications Directorate (UPS) of the USSR KGB, concerning the organization of "audio monitoring with regard to a number of leaders of the USSR and the RSFSR who are served by top secret, secret, and urban telephone circuits at their place of work and residence." There was no mention of a sanction by the prosecutor.

Kalgin's first deputy, Guskov, managed the "technical performance of audio monitoring." Wiretapping lasted for four days, from 18 to 21 August. Guskov reported to Kalgin verbally about everything monitored.

However, UPS Chief Beda distinguished himself more than others. Between 15 and 17 August, once again on Kryuchkov's personal orders, Beda "organized the transfer of the lines of government communications of client-leaders of the Union and Russia to the 12th Department" for monitoring. On 15 August, he sent UPS functionaries headed by Major General Glushchenko, his deputy, who was subordinated to Plekhanov, with an operational group of the Guard Service flying to the Crimea. At 1630 hours on 18 August, Chief of UPS 21st Department Parusnikov turned off all types of communications at the dacha of the USSR president in Foros (the "Dawn" facility) on Plekhanov's orders. One and a half hours later, the Guard Service also turned off communications with border guard units which guarded the outer perimeter of the dacha for 39 hours.

On the next day, Beda, on Kryuchkov's orders, turned off long-distance government communications phones, this time, those of Yeltsin, Silayev, and Burbulis.

Lebedev, the youngest and most energetic of Kryuchkov's deputies and the creator of the USSR KGB Analytical Directorate, supported senior comrades. He ordered the committing of forces of Directorate "Z" and the USSR KGB 7th Directorate (outdoor reconnaissance) to apprehend Urazhtsev, Gdlyan, Proselkov, and Komchatov. He set up a group for information support for the state of emergency regime and managed the development and dissemination of GKChP documents, as well as directives concerning operation of the mass media, including the radio station Ekho Moskvy.

Petrovas, another deputy of Kryuchkov, ordered that the readiness rate of Spetsnaz [Special Purpose Forces] troops be increased, and sent specific instructions to the KGB organs and troops on how to act under conditions of higher readiness rate. Petrovas managed and coordinated the actions of the KGB and the Ministry of Defense involving troop movements in Moscow, including those in preparation for storming the "White House." He sent to the Baltic area 300 men from the 103d Airborne Division.

Kryuchkov familiarized Lieutenant General Prilukov, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB and chief of the USSR KGB Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast, with his plan as early as 17 August, and as soon as the next day, Prilukov actively joined the conspiracy.

Chief of Directorate "Z" (Defense of the Constitutional System) of the USSR KGB Vorotnikov was summoned from his dacha at 1400 hours on Sunday, 18 August. By 1600 hours, he had called in 60 functionaries of the directorate who happened to be at home, split them into three teams of 20 men each to be sent to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania together with representatives of the Third Main Directorate. When giving instructions, Vorotnikov told the functionaries that he did not know why he was sending them to the Baltic area, but on the eve of signing the Union Treaty, they should have "monitored the operational situation in the region and prevented mass disturbances." Team leaders were to be given additional instructions on site. Several hours later, Vorotnikov issued instructions to form a group of 11 functionaries of Directorate "Z" and seven functionaries of the KGB Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast, headed by his deputy Major General Dobrovolskiy, in order to execute administrative arrests. When instructions were given, each member of the group was handed blank forms of administrative arrest warrants. They planned to execute "arrests" together with "NN" (surveillance) teams. On 19 August, Vorotnikov got from Lebedev a list of persons to be placed under secret surveillance and passed it on to Dobrovolskiy. The Dobrovolskiy team promptly apprehended Urazhtsev, Gdlyan, Komchatov, and Proselkov.

Another deputy of Vorotnikov, Major General Perfilyev, together with Deputy Chief of the KGB Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast Major General Kucherov, formed teams of functionaries on 19 August in order to enforce the decision of the GKChP on the temporary suspension of the publication of a number of newspapers and magazines.

Colonel General Kalinichenko, chief of the USSR KGB Border Guard Troops, began to act as early as 18 August. On that day, he assigned the mission of reinforcing the guard of the recreation zone of the USSR president to the Simferopol Border Guard Detachment and the Balaklava Brigade of Border Guard Patrol Escorts; he subordinated the chiefs of these units to Plekhanov and Generalov exclusively.

On 19 August, he ordered that the guarding of the state border be stepped up, and announced a directive to increase the readiness rate of the troops at a conference of the leaders of the Chief Directorate. Together with Major General Antsupov, secretary of the party committee of the Border Guard Troops, Kalinichenko signed and sent to the troops a directive prepared by Britvin, chief of the Military Political Directorate of the Border Guard Troops. The directive called for the broad-scale propaganda of GKChP documents among all categories of servicemen, and for taking part in the operation of the KChP [Committees for the State of Emergency] created locally in the interest of accomplishing the tasks of the service.

On the same day, an appeal by the leadership of the Military Political Directorate of the Border Guard Troops was sent to the Border Guard units. The appeal was signed by members of the Military Council Colonel General Kalinichenko, Lieutenant General Britvin, Lieutenant General Shlyakhtin, Lieutenant General Danskov, Lieutenant General Kortelaynen, Lieutenant General Rokhlov, Major General Agapov, Major General Golyshev, and Major General Zemtsov. The generals called for resolute support for measures taken by the GKChP, and for doing everything in order to definitely execute the decisions of Acting USSR President Yanayev. Major General Golyshev prepared this appeal personally.

Vice Admiral Zhardetskiy, chief of the Third Chief Directorate (special USSR KGB departments in the Armed Forces) was aware of Kryuchkov's plans as early as 18 August. He was personally present at conferences with Kryuchkov and Yazov where forces and resources were put together to seal off and storm the "White House." Zhardetskiy ordered that an operational group for actions in front of the "White House" be set up at the Chief Directorate, to be headed by Major General Gushcha, deputy chief of the Directorate of Special Departments of the USSR KGB for USSR MVD Internal Troops. Zhardetskiy also ordered that a group for the analysis of the operational situations and a reserve group be formed.

On 19 August, Major General Gushcha and his group together with an Airborne Troops battalion advanced to the vicinity of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet building, and on the following day they were placed at the disposal of Korsak, deputy chief of the KGB Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast. Having learned about the assault on the RSFSR Supreme Soviet building being prepared for 0300 hours on 21 August, he refused to take part in it, which he reported to Zhardetskiy.

Zhardetskiy's deputy, Major General Ryzhak, engaged in general oversight of the operational groups headed by him which flew to the Baltic area on 18 August. On his personal initiative, he sent three encrypted telegrams from the special department of the KGB for the Baltic Military District to military counterintelligence in the Baltic zone and the USSR KGB on 19 and 20 August. In

the telegrams, he supported actions of the GKChP and proposed to impose a state of emergency in the Baltic area.

On 19 August, Major General Kucherov, deputy chief of the KGB Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast, headed operational headquarters set up at the KGB Administration. On his orders and on the same day, an encrypted telegram was sent to the organs of city rayons "concerning the detailing of the presence of printing facilities and cable television, and establishing control over their operation." He assigned a team of employees of the "Z" Service of the KGB Administration to deliver notices to publishing houses concerning the shutdown of the production of some central, Moscow, and oblast publications.

On the morning of 19 August, he assigned seven functionaries to Dobrovolskiy in order to take part in the administrative arrests of several people's deputies.

Major General Korsak, deputy chief of the KGB Administration who was deputy head of the operational headquarters, coordinated the actions of Airborne Troops aimed at sealing off the Moscow Soviet, the Ostankino TV center, the State Bank, and the USSR State Administration for the Safekeeping of Valuables. He ordered that authorized weapons be issued to the functionaries of the Seventh Service of the KGB Administration. Despite the resolute refusal of some chiefs of operational units to prepare for storming the building of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, he ordered that preparations be continued.

The imposition of a state of emergency did not come as a surprise to Lieutenant General Rasshchepov, chief of the Seventh Directorate of the USSR KGB, either. By that time he had already organized secret surveillance of the leadership of Russia, Moscow, and people's deputies of the USSR, the RSFSR, and the Moscow Soviet, and had given instructions to apprehend four of them.

At 1400 hours on 18 August, Rasshchepov personally handed to the chiefs of outdoor reconnaissance lists of Soviet citizens, and gave instructions to put them under surveillance. There were about 70 names on the list. Here are just some of them: Yeltsin, Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, Burbulis, Popov, Luzhkov, Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, Ryzhov, Volkogonov, Shakhray, Rumyantsev, Stankevich, Lysenko, Travkin, Yakunin, Kalugin...

Together with Major General Karpukhin, chief of "A" Group ("Alpha") of the Seventh Directorate, Rasshchepov studied the situation with a view to detaining the RSFSR president in Chkalovskiy Airport on 17 August, prior to the return of Yeltsin from Alma-Ata. To this end, Rasshchepov personally visited the site and ordered that between 25 and 30 "A" functionaries be prepared for the forthcoming operation, and that their actions be coordinated with the military.

Rasshchepov gave special instructions to surveillance forces concerning the tracking of Yeltsin's landing on 18 August at Vnukovo airport and his arrival at his dacha in Arkhangelskoye-2 settlement...

The documents which found their way to the editorial office indicate that Kryuchkov and his assistants prepared and provided for everything. However, having run into resistance, they faltered and put the brakes on the machinery of repressions they had themselves created. What if the brakes had failed?

Commonwealth Affairs

Further Reportage on Mink Commonwealth Summit

Yeltsin Interviewed

LD3012133991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1047 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Report by Minsk correspondents Vera Shchelkunova and Petr Makritskiy, including remarks by Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin at a news conference with unidentified correspondents, on the Commonwealth of Independent States meeting in Minsk on 30 December]

[Text] [Shchelkunova] The meeting has already been going on for 105 minutes in camera, of course. We've been promised information later. We've been at the airport since this morning, as we were the whole of yesterday, to learn about arrivals for the meeting as they happened. Strange as it may seem, we managed to get quite close to Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk. Basically, he confirmed his stand, the Ukraine's stand, on the armed forces, in general, and the Black Sea Fleet, in particular. He said that deregulation of prices was inevitable but that there had to be an agreement on this among the Commonwealth members. The presidents arrived one after the other, and each of them was given a first class reception. It was most tiring, of course, for Stanislav Shushkevich, the Belarussian leader, and the military band. Listen to this report, which gives a fairly accurate picture of the situation, in my view.

[Begin recording] [Makritskiy] The aircraft from Kiev just landed here, at Minsk-2 airport. We now await the arrival of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

[Shchelkunova] That's his plane now, it seems.

[Makritskiy] There are 11 flags at Minsk-2 airport, the flags of the former Republics which are now independent states. The state flag of the USSR is absent, just like the former Union itself. Will the Commonwealth endure? It is taking its first steps, but will it survive? This depends greatly on the meeting in Minsk, the conference of the Commonwealth heads of state.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, I'm from MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS: How do you feel?

[Yeltsin] I feel fine. Not everything we're doing is working out, of course. However, in the first place, we

will unquestionably continue this mission. Second, at today's meeting of the council of the 11 heads of state, we will discuss this problem yet again, the problem of how to emerge from the state of war [in Nagorno-Karabakh].

[Correspondent] What is your attitude to Ukraine's introduction of coupons?

[Yeltsin] This is every independent state's right. We do not interfere in this. As far as national currencies are concerned, we have signed an agreement that the question of introducing national currencies will be left until after all the heads of the 11 states have discussed this question.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, do you agree that a transitional period is needed to create the Commonwealth's forces?

[Yeltsin] Yes, I consider that 1992-95 should be a transitional period, precisely from the point of view of forming armed forces. This is too big an outfit, I would say. This organism of the former Soviet Union embraces over 3 million men. It is impossible simply to take them and dissolve them overnight. Therefore, there must be some kind of transitional period.

[Correspondent] What about the Black Sea Fleet? What will happen to it? Can you clarify the situation?

[Yeltsin] Put it this way, we will also discuss this question today. If you look at it from an historical perspective, the Black Sea Fleet has always belonged to Russia.

[Correspondent] Yes.

[Yeltsin] However, Ukraine undoubtedly is also entitled to claim some part of the Black Sea Fleet. Therefore, we will discuss this question today. Having consulted Ukraine and the others, I think we will settle it in a way which does not encroach on each other's interests. [end recording]

Transitional Period Suggested

OW3012165091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1516 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At IF [INTERFAX] request, the presidents of Russia, the Ukraine and Belarus, and Marshal Shaposhnikov spoke about the cardinal issue: military command and the future of the Commonwealth's Armed Forces.

Mr. Yeltsin said that a transitional period lasting from 1992 till 1995 as needed to restructure the Armed Forces. This does not refer to nuclear weapons, he said. "The Army," said Mr. Yeltsin, "is such an important and large system of the former Union that it cannot be disbanded as simply as that."

The Navy is also a problematical area. Historically, the Navy has always belonged to Russia. However, the Ukraine, too, may lay claims on part of the Black Sea fleet, he said.

The future of the Soviet Union's nuclear forces "should be given thorough thinking." As far as conventional weapons, they should be placed at the disposal of the national armies of the Commonwealth's independent states, said Ukrainian President, Mr. Leonid Kravchuk. Asked about the future of the Black Sea fleet, Mr. Kravchuk said that this problem should be viewed from the same angle: for the transitional period the nuclear forces should stay under centralized command, while part of the remaining ships should be attached to the Ukrainian armed forces.

It is clear already that every state would make efforts to obtain and run its own armed forces, said Chairman of the Belarussian parliament, Mr. Stanislav Shushkevich. Undoubtedly, Belarus will try to create its own armed forces. But this is going to be a slow, gradual and consistent reorganization of what is available now, he said.

Speaking about disagreements between the participants in the conference, Mr. Shushkevich said that they did not come as a surprise. Unanimity has become a thing of the past. Disagreements can be easily settled, however, he said. Mr. Shushkevich said that the Commonwealth of Independent States was not at all doomed to death. Marshal Shaposhnikov told IF that he still hoped to prevent the disintegration of the Army. "Everything that has been created over the decades belongs to the people and we reckon on people's support," he said. "Why should one raise such a complicated and acute problem as nuclear armaments over and over again? Everything we have agreed upon should be fulfilled," he said.

The conference will discuss the text of the oath of allegiance. There are three different variants so far. A serviceman may swear allegiance to the state in which he serves and pledge to respect the laws of the other Commonwealth states. The Ukraine believes, however, that servicemen should only swear allegiance to the state on whose territory they serve.

Shaposhnikov Prepared To Resign

LD3012183191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1757 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By special TASS-BELTA correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 30 Dec (TASS)—If the discussions on an agreement on defense issues for the transition period are not successfully concluded, I am willing to resign, Defense Minister and Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov stated today in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. He is convinced that unified armed forces under joint command are necessary for the transition period.

Discussion of this issue at the meeting of leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States has been going on now for five hours but no final decision has yet been made.

'Not Quite' Satisfied

OW3012214891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2047 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Marshal Yevgeny Shaposhnikov has declared that a decision was reached in Minsk for each republic to prepare a final version of the agreement on armed forces within two months' time. In an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent in the capital of Belarus, he said that this decision had been prompted by the difference in approaches to this problem which had emerged during the summit. According to Marshal Shaposhnikov, objections to creating joint armed forces had been raised in particular by Azerbaijan and Moldova.

He said that the leaders of the Commonwealth would meet again within two months to discuss the question of armed forces. Marshal Shaposhnikov pointed out that he was "not quite" satisfied with the outcome of the Minsk summit, but he thought the question of his resignation had been settled.

Text of Strategic Forces Agreement

LD3112100191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 31 Dec 91

["An Agreement Between the Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States on Strategic Forces"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received] Guided by the necessity for a coordinated and organized solution to issues in the sphere of the control of the strategic forces and the single control over nuclear weapons, the Azerbaijan Republic, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenia, the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Ukraine, henceforth referred to as "the member states of the Commonwealth", have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The term "strategic forces" means: groupings, formations, units, institutions, the military training institutes for the strategic missile troops, air force, navy and air defenses; the directorates of the space command and of the airborne troops and of strategic and operational intelligence and the nuclear technical units and the forces, equipment and other military facilities designed for the control and maintenance of the strategic forces of the former USSR (the schedule is to be determined for each state participating in the Commonwealth in a separate protocol).

Article 2

The member states of the Commonwealth undertake to observe the international treaties of the USSR and to pursue a coordinated policy in the area of international security, disarmament and arms control, to participate in the preparation and implementation of programs for reductions in arms and armed forces. The member states of the Commonwealth are immediately entering into negotiations with one another and also with other states which were formerly part of the USSR but which have not joined the Commonwealth, with the aim of ensuring guarantees and developing mechanisms for implementing the afore-mentioned treaties.

Article 3

The member states of the Commonwealth recognize the need for joint command of strategic forces and for maintaining unified contol of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction of the armed forces of the former USSR.

Article 4

Until the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, the decision on the need for their use is made by the president of the Russian Federation in agreement with the heads of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, and Ukraine, and in consultation with the heads of the other member states of the Commonwealth.

Until their destruction in full, nuclear weapons located on the territory of Ukraine shall be under the control of the Combined Strategic Forces Command, with the aim that they not be used, and be dismantled by the end of 1994, including tactical nuclear weapons by 1 July 1992. The process of destruction of nuclear weapons located on the territory of the Republic of Belarus and Ukraine shall take place with the participation of the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation and Ukraine under the joint control of the Commonwealth states.

ARTICLE 5

The status of strategic forces and the procedure for service in them shall be defined in a special agreement.

ARTICLE 6

This Agreement shall enter into force from the moment of its signing, and shall be terminated by decision of the signatory states or the Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth.

This Agreement shall cease to apply to a signatory state from whose territory strategic forces or nuclear weapons are withdrawn.

Done in Minsk on December 30 1991 in one original in the state languages of the member states of the Commonwealth.

All texts shall be of equal validity. The Government of the Republic of Belarus shall hold the original hereof in its archives, and shall forward certified copies to the signatory states.

For the Republic of Azerbaijan, with the exception of financing
A. MUTALIBOV

For the Republic of Armenia
L. TER-PETROSYAN

For the Republic of Belarus
S. SHUSHKEVICH

For the Republic of Kazakhstan
N. NAZARBAYEV

For the Republic of Kyrgyzstan
A. AKAYEV

For the Republic of Moldova, with the exception of financing
M. SNEGUR

For the Russian Federation
B. YELTSIN

For the Republic of Tajikistan
R. NABIYEV

For Turkmenia
S. NIYAZOV

For the Republic of Uzbekistan
I. KARIMOV

For Ukraine
L. KRAVCHUK

Text of Armed Forces Agreement

LD3112104791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0953 GMT 31 Dec 91

["Agreement of the Council of the heads of member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States on Armed Forces and Border Troops"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—Proceeding from the need for a mutually acceptable settlement of matters of defense and security, including guarding the border of the Commonwealth states, the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States have agreed on the following:

1. The Commonwealth states confirm their legitimate right to set up their own armed forces.

2. Jointly with the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, to examine and settle, within two months, the issue of the procedure for controlling general purpose forces, taking into account the national legislations of the Commonwealth states, and also the issue of the consistent implementation by the Commonwealth states of their right to set up their own armed forces. For the Ukraine, this will be from 3 January 1992.

3. To appoint I.Ya. Kalinichenko commander in chief of border troops.

4. To instruct the commander in chief of border troops to work out, within two months and in conjuction with the leaders of the Commonwealth states, a mechanism for the activity of the border troops, taking into account the national legislations of the Commonwealth states, with the exception of states with which a mechanism for the activity of border troops has been agreed on already.

Done in the city of Minsk on 30 December 1991 in a single copy in the Azeri, Armenian, Belarussian, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Moldovan, Russian, Tajik, Turkmen, Uzbek, and Ukrainian languages. All texts are of equal validity. The original copy is kept in the government archives of the Republic of Belarus, which will send the participant-states of the present agreement their own certified copy.

For the Azerbaijan Republic, with the complusory completion within a two-month period of the handover of general purpose armed forces to the Azerbaijan Republic, A. Mutalibov.

[Signed] For the Republic of Armenia, L. Ter-Petrosyan.

For the Republic of Belarus, S. Shushkevich.

For the Republic of Kazakhstan, N. Nazarbayev.

For the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, A. Akayev.

For the Republic of Moldova, M. Snegur.

For the Russian Federation, B. Yeltsin.

For the Republic of Tajikistan, R. Nabiyev.

For Turkmenistan, S. Niyazov.

For the Republic of Uzbekistan, with withdrawal and independent armed forces, I. Karimov.

For Ukraine, L. Kravchuk.

Coordination, Cooperation Institutions Agreed

LD3112113991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0955 GMT 31 Dec 91

["Provisional Agreement on the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth of Independent States"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—The participants in this agreement, guided by the aims and principles of the agreement on the creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States of 8 December 1991 and the protocol to the agreement of 21 December 1991, taking into consideration the desire of the Commonwealth states to pursue joint activity through the Commonwealth's joint coordinating institutions, and deeming it essential to establish

for the consistent implementation of the provisions of that agreement the appropriate interstate and intergovernmental institutions capable of ensuring effective coordination and of promoting the development of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation, have agreed on the following:

Article One

The Council of Heads of State is the supreme body on which all the states of the Commonwealth are represented at the level of head of state for discussion of fundamental issues connected with coordinating the activity of the Commonwealth states in the sphere of their common interests.

The Council is empowered to discuss issues provided for by the agreement on the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States and other documents for the development of that agreement, including the problems of legal succession which have arisen as a result of ending the existence of the USSR and the abolition of Union structures.

The activity of the Council of Heads of State and of the Council of Heads of Government is pursued on the basis of mutual recognition of and respect for the state sovereignty and sovereign equality of the participants in the agreement; their inalienable right to self-determination; the principles of equality and noninterference in internal affairs; the renunciation of the use of force and the threat of force; territorial integrity and the inviolability of existing borders; the peaceful settlement of disputes; respect for human rights and liberties, including the rights of national minorities; conscientious fulfillment of obligations; and other commonly accepted principles and norms of international law.

Article 2

The activity of the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government is regulated by the agreement on setting up the Commonwealth of Independent States, the present agreement and agreements adopted in development of them, and also by the rules of procedure of these institutions.

Each state in the Council has one vote. The decisions of the Council are taken by common consent - consensus.

The official languages of the Councils are the state languages of the Commonwealth states.

The working language is Russian.

Article 3

The Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government discuss and where necessary make decisions on the more important domestic and external issues.

Any state may declare its having no interest in this or that issue.

Article 4

The Council of Commonwealth Heads of State convenes for meetings no less often than twice a year. The decision on the time for holding and the provisional agenda of each successive meeting of the Council is made at a regular meeting of the Council, unless the Council agrees otherwise. Extraordinary meetings of the Council of Heads of State are convened on the initiative of the majority of Commonwealth Heads of State.

The heads of state chair the meeting of the Council in turn according to the Russian alphabetical order of the names of the Commonwealth states.

Sessions of the Council of the heads of state are to be held, as a rule, in Minsk. A session of the Council may be held in another of the Commonwealth states by agreement among those taking part.

Article 5

The Commonwealth Council of Heads of Government is to meet no less often than once every three months. The decision concerning the scheduling of and preliminary agenda for each successive sitting is to be made at a regular session of the Council, unless the Council agrees otherwise.

Extraordinary sessions of the Council of Heads of Government may be convened on the initiative of a majority of heads of government of the Commonwealth states.

The heads of government chair meetings of the Council in turn according to the Russian alphabetical order of the names of the Commonwealth states.

Sittings of the Council of heads of government are to be held, as a rule, in Minsk. A sitting of the Council may be held in another of the Commonwealth states by agreement among the heads of government.

Article 6

The Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth states may hold joint sessions.

Article 7

Working and auxiliary bodies may be set up on both a permanent and interim basis on the decision of the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth states.

These are composed of authorized representatives of the participating states. Experts and consultants may be invited to take part in their sessions.

Concluded in the city of Minsk on 30 December 1991 in a single copy in the Azeri, Armenian, Belarussian, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Moldovan, Russian, Tajik, Turkmen, Uzbek, and Ukrainian languages, all the texts having equal validity. The original copy is to be stored in the

archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send the states taking part in this agreement their own certified copies.

[Signed] For the Republic of Azerbaijan, A. Mutalibov

For the Republic of Armenia, L. Ter-Petrosyan

For the Republic of Belarus, S. Shushkevich

For the Republic of Kazakhstan, N. Nazarbayev

For the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, A. Akayev

For the Republic of Moldova, M. Snegur

For the Russian Federation, B. Yeltsin

For the Republic of Tajikistan, R. Nabiyev

For Turkmenistan, S. Niyazov

For the Republic of Uzbekistan, I. Karimov

For the Ukraine, L. Kravchuk

Trade, Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed

PM3112094091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Ties Will Not Be Severed"]

[Text] The governments of the independent states of the Commonwealth, taking into account the need for coordinated actions to create favorable conditions for the work of the enterprises, associations, and organizations sited on their territories and the implementation of interstate agreements on the principles of trade and economic cooperation in 1992, have signed a protocol accordingly.

It makes provision, in particular, for ensuring, in the first quarter of 1992, the preservation of the economic ties existing in 1991 and the conclusion and implementation of contracts for the delivery of raw materials, semifinished materials, subassemblies, and finished products in quantities not less than 70 percent of the volume of deliveries in the first quarter of 1991.

Enterprises, associations, and organizations are instructed to supply to state statistical organs data on the volume and destinations of deliveries under contracts. The administrative organs of the Commonwealth member states are to summarize these data in order to take them into account in determining quotas and issuing notices of assignments for deliveries and to make the necessary amendments in light of the contracts concluded on the basis of established economic ties.

The issuing of licenses for the export of output over and above established quotas is to take place only by decision of the governments of the states or the bodies authorized by them.

Environmental Protocol on Chernobyl Signed

LD3012224991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2150 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By special TASS-BELTA correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 30 Dec—(TASS)—The leaders of the 11 former Soviet republics signed three protocols of the meeting of the heads of independent states in Minsk today. The protocol on measures for eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident says:

"The governments of the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine are required to finalize by 10 January 1992 the list of measures to be carried out in 1992 for eliminating the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, together with the procedures and sums for financing them, and to sign a relevant agreement.

"Humanitarian aid for eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident is to be rendered by all states of the Commonwealth."

The protocol concerning the preparation of an agreement on preserving the fish stocks in the Caspian says:

"We take cogt izance of the fact that the governments of the Azerbaijani Republic, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Turkmenia will prepare a special agreement to preserve the fish stocks in the Caspian Sea."

The third protocol of the conference of the heads of independent states is devoted to the preparation of agreements on the problems of the Aral Sea and on the elimination of the consequences of the Spitak earthquake. It says: "It is agreed that the governments of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenia, and the Republic of Uzbekistan will prepare a special agreement on the problems of the Aral" and that the government of the Republic of Armenia will prepare a special agreement on the problems of eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Spitak.

The leaders of the 11 Commonwealth states have appended their signatures to a "protocol of the conference of the heads of states and governments of the Commonwealth." This instructs the foreign ministers to "submit for the consideration of the Commonwealth heads of states proposals on the name, the structure, and the sources of financing of a working group for organizational and technical preparation and holding of the Council of the Heads of States and the Council of the Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth. Foreign ministers are to hold a conference on this question in Minsk no later than 10 January 1992."

Text of Space Research, Exploitation Agreement

LD3112122391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0956 GMT 31 Dec 91

["Commonwealth Agreement on Joint Research and Use of Space—Text"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Agreement on joint activity in space research and exploitation:

The state-participants of the present agreement, noting the great significance of space science and technology for the development of the Commonwealth state-participants; recognizing the need to combine efforts for effective space research and exploitation in the interests of the national economy and science, and also defense capability and ensuring the collective security of Commonwealth state-participants; confirming the need for the rigorous observation of international agreements and obligations in the sphere of space research and exploitation earlier taken upon itself by the USSR; feeling that the adoption of an agreement on joint activity in space research and exploitation will serve the interests of the states signing it, have agreed on the following:

Article 1.

Joint activity in space research and exploitation is effected by state-participants of the present agreement on the basis of interstate programs.

Article 2.

The implementation of interstate programs of space research and exploitation is coordinated by an interstate space council, which is being formed from empowered representatives of the state- participants of the present agreement. The statute on the council is ratified by a decision of the heads of government.

State-participants of the present agreement may have independent programs for space research and exploitation.

Article 3.

The fulfillment of interstate programs of space research and exploitation in the area of military and dual purpose (military and civilian) space facilities is ensured by the joint strategic armed forces.

Article 4.

Interstate programs for space research and exploitation are financed by means of proportionate contributions by the states participating in the present agreement, and are implemented on the basis of existing space complexes and space infrastructure facilities and of those being set up (the "Baykonyr" and "Plesetsk" cosmodromes, technical, launching and landing complexes, areas where separating fragments of rocket-carriers fall to ground, space flight control centers, the cosmonaut training center, coordinating and computing complexes, data reception and processing centers, arsenals and other facilities).

The use of the aforementioned infrastructure for conducting the independent programs of the states participating in the present agreement is determined by separate agreements by the interested parties.

Article 5.

Expenditures on the exploitation of existing and the setting up of new space systems for economic, scientific, and military purposes and the maintenance of the unique testing base, as well as profit gained from space projects and the launch of space apparatus carried out on a commercial basis, are distributed in accordance with the proportionate participation of the states taking part in the present agreement.

The states participating in the present agreement bear responsibility for their activity in space research and exploitation in accordance with the terms and procedure defined by a special agreement.

Article 6.

The states participating in the present agreement undertake to develop their activity in space research and exploitation in accordance with existing international legal norms, and to coordinate their efforts aimed at settling international legal problems of space research and exploitation.

Article 7.

The states taking part in the present agreement pledge to make mutually agreed decisions determining the procedure for assigning proportional financing for interstate programs of space research and exploitation; for the provision of facilities, territory and material and energy resources; and for compensation for damages associated with the use of space equipment and also the procedure for the dissolution of the present agreement by one or all of the states taking part.

Article 8.

The states taking part in the present agreement pledge to provide the persons and facilities involved in the execution of interstate space research and exploitation programs with the necessary material and technical resources, to make payments under the system of state regulation and taxation, and also to deal with the issues of social support and protection.

They pledge to make provision for the allocation of the necessary funds for the implementation of interstate programs when compiling the state budgets, beginning 1992.

Article 9.

The states taking part in the present agreement pledge to target the training of qualified specialists in higher

education, the scientific research establishments, and the Academy of Sciences into providing facilities in the space infrastructure with professional staff.

Article 10.

The states taking part in the present agreement are not to make decisions or carry out actions which entail the cessation (impediment) of the normal functioning of space centers and facilities in the space infrastructure sited on their territories.

They pledge to retain and develop the existing scientific and technological and industrial potential for the design, construction, testing, and development of space rocket technology within the framework of the adopted interstate programs.

Article 11.

Other states can join the present agreement with the consent of the participating states.

Article 12.

The agreement comes into force on signing.

Concluded in the city of Minsk on 30 December 1991 in one original copy in the state languages of the states participating in the present agreement.

The original copy is kept in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send the states participating in the present agreement a signed copy.

[Signed] for the Republic of Azerbaijan
A. Mutalibov

for the Republic of Armenia
L. Ter-Petrosyan

for the Republic of Belarus
S. Shuskevich

for the Republic of Kazakhstan
N. Nazarbayev

for the Republic of Kyrgyzstan
A. Akayev

for the Russian Federation
B. Yeltsin

for the Republic of Tajikistan
R. Nabiyev

for Turkmenia
S. Niyazov

for the Republic of Uzbekistan
I. Karimov

[Moldova and Ukraine not listed by TASS as signatories]

Overview of Signatory Events at Minsk Summit

Documents Signed

LD3012203191 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Minsk December 30 TASS—Today heads of states-members of the Commonwealth of Independent States signed nine basic documents at the Minsk summit, including:

—The temporary agreement on the Council of State Heads and the Council of Government Heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States,

—The agreement between the Commonwealth member-states on the strategic forces,

—The agreement of the Council of Heads of the Commonwealth member-states on the armed forces and border troops,

—The agreement on joint activities on exploration and uses of space,

—The agreement of the heads of the Commonwealth member-states on property of the former Soviet Union abroad,

—The protocol of the meeting of the heads of independent states on the preparations for a special agreement on the Aral Sea and on the elimination of consequences of the Spitak earthquake,

—The protocol of the meeting of the heads of independent states on the preparations for a special agreement on the preservation of fish resources of the Caspian Sea,

—The protocol for a meeting of heads of independent states on measures to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl accident to be fulfilled in 1992, the procedure and volume of their financing,

—The protocol of the meeting of heads of states and governments of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the elaboration of the name of the structure and sources of financing of the working group to provide for organizational and technical preparations and holding the Council of State Heads and the Council of Government heads Of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Next Meeting 10 Jan

LD3012202191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Irina Mishina] The old year is carrying away what we used to call the USSR. The main event today was the opening in Minsk of the meeting of

the eleven leaders of the states of the Commonwealth. There were just eleven points on the agenda. Our special correspondent sent this report from Minsk an hour ago.

[Begin recording] [Belarussian President Shushkevich] The days of unanimity are over. You cannot have a situation in which people meet and reach unanimity. We will sort things out in the most perfectly normal way.

[Correspondent A. Gerasimov] The morning caution of the Belarussian leader took shape at the meeting toward the evening. Out of a huge list of issues being examined, only several were substantially resolved. The leaders of the Commonwealth countries finally agreed on setting up a Council of Heads of States and a Council of Heads of Governments. At the same time, after a suggestion by Leonid Kravchuk, they rejected a charter for the Commonwealth of Independent States.

No doubt one can consider the main result of today's meeting to be the confirmation of the desire to live together, examples of which are the agreement that has been signed on transport and tariffs; the distribution between the republics of foreign food aid granted under credits to the Soviet Union; and the air transport agreement.

The greater part of the economic issues are in abeyance until the next summit meeting, which is due to take place on 10 January in Moscow.

The fate of the Armed Forces will be decided somewhat later. Today virtually all the republics are expressing the desire to have their own armies. In order to give the matter some careful thought, therefore, it has been decided to return to this topic in two months' time. For the time being, Marshal Shaposhnikov will continue to be in charge of the troops.

Nagorno-Karabakh was to have been discussed at the conference, but [Azerbaijani] President Mutalibov quickly ended it, stating that it was an internal affair of independent Azerbaijan.

It has been decided to set up a Commonwealth television channel, so once again the First Program will be subject to reorganization.

[Belarussian Prime Minister V. Kebich] Each state will invest its capital. Time will be allocated by day and by hour and no one will have the right to occupy this time, thus the First Program will be turned into the Commonwealth channel.

[Gerasimov] As the participants in the meeting say, there is little threatening the Commonwealth today. But that certainly does not rule out alliances between the republics on various interests. For example, there is a report about the setting up of a Black Sea-Baltic community that will include the Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic countries. Divisions based on religious consideration are not yet foreseen. No doubt one can describe as sensational the statement by Leonid Kravchuk that the single ruble is a fiction. The Ukrainian leader accused Russia of not providing the republic with the necessary amount of rubles.

The meeting ended late in the evening with a news conference at which the results of the conference were summed up.

[Shushkevich] I would just like to draw your attention to the fact that no matter how difficult the work has been on the documents, all the documents have been adopted unanimously. All the documents were signed literally half an hour ago—40 minutes ago—no document was signed before that. The range of issues considered proceeded in accordance with the previous documents—the Belovezhskaya agreement, as we now call it, the Ashkhabad documents, the Alma-Ata declaration, and the Alma-Ata documents—that is, this is further development of the same process. [video shows Shushkevich addressing news conference] [end recording]

Kebich Cited on Progress Made at Conference

LD3012191791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1824 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By TASS-BELTA special correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 30 Dec (TASS)—The talks in Minsk have been progressing with difficulty, but greater trust has appeared among those taking part. This is how today's conference of the Commonwealth heads of state was assessed by Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus.

In an interview with journalists prior to the end of the meetings, he said that so many documents had been prepared for the conference of heads of state that they could only be examined in the course of several days, rather than hours. Therefore, the main issues were selected.

Vyacheslav Kebich said that the heads of government signed agreements on transportation and fares, on the distribution in 1992 of food bought from credits granted by foreign states, and on aviation. An agreement will shortly be signed by three republics on clearing up the aftermath of the Chernobyl atomic energy station disaster. A date for the next conference has been agreed, and also a list of the documents that will be signed there.

Those attending the conference, Vyacheslav Kebich said, have also agreed on the creation of a new Commonwealth television and radio station. Russia has taken the correct stand. A joint stock company will be set up based on the first channel, and each state will invest its capital. Air time will be distributed among the states by days and hours.

The next conference will be held in Moscow with the consent of Russia. As for the heads of state, the [Belarussian] premier hopes that an agreement will soon be signed on the fate of the strategic forces. The question of

the border troops is currently being addressed. An accord has been reached on the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government.

Vyacheslav Kebich remarked that certain heads of state and government "are afraid even to use such words as union and integration processes. They are clearly afraid of getting the kind of organ that would again crush the republics."

Summit Leaders Hold News Conference on Results

LD3112101591 Moscow TASS in English 2220 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Minsk December 30 TASS—All the documents submitted for consideration of the Commonwealth summit in Minsk have been signed, said Chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich, speaking today at a news conference on summit results.

The summit discussed aspects of political, economic, military, scientific and technical interaction between the Commonwealth member-states.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin told a news conference here the strategic armed forces will be under the single command to be subordinated to the Council of Heads of States - members of the Commonwealth.

"As for the conventional armed forces, we confirmed the right of each state to decide on this issue in accordance with its laws," Yeltsin said. "They can either control the armed forces by their own, or pass them over under the single armed forces command.

"So far three states—Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova—have said they will control the conventional armed forces by themselves. All the rest have agreed their armed forces will be under the single command".

The Russian president has specified that the single armed forces and the single command are subordinated to the Council of Heads of States - members of the Commonwealth.

There is the Council of Defence Ministers within the single command to jointly solve defence issues and elaborate the defence policy, Yeltsin said.

In the states, which do not have defence ministries and ministers, as, for instance, Russia, their interests will be represented by authorized military specialists.

"Kazakhstan is seeking to become a non-nuclear zone. It participates in all the processes to reduce strategic offensive nuclear weapons," said Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

In his words, the republic's stand was clearly expressed in the Alma-Ata agreement of the four states on territories of which nuclear weapons are stationed.

That is why, "the republic should participate in the negotiations on this issue," noted the Kazakh president.

Ukraine is not against the preservation of the single ruble zone, said Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

At the same time, he noted if the Commonwealth member-states do not receive monetary mass from Russia, the single ruble zone may become fiction.

Taking into account difficulties Russia has with money minting, Ukraine has to pay wages and salaries with special coupons since January, 1992, Kravchuk said. [sentence as received]

Yeltsin added that 200 and 500-ruble banknotes are being printed by Goznak, and a 1,000-ruble banknote will be put into circulation by the end of January.

The move coupled with the liberalisation of prices scheduled for January 2, 1992 is expected to help reduce the deficit of cash in the republic.

The Commonwealth states have agreed that "each of them has the right to a certain fixed portion of the former Soviet Union's property in other countries and will facilitate the realisation of this right," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said at a news conference in Minsk on Monday.

He also said an inter-state commission will be set up to develop criteria and principles to divide the property.

The leaders urged the presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia to resume the negotiation process.

The Commonwealth states "have agreed on the main principles of economic reform, its pace, terms and key factors," but real substance, including privatisation, has to be "added by each independent state," Yeltsin said.

The Ukrainian president stressed that "no decisions interfering in the domestic and foreign policy of the state have been made" by the presidents of the Commonwealth states during their previous meetings. "Since they are independent states there will be no common decisions concerning politics," Kravchuk said.

Belorussian parliamentary leader Stanislav Shushkevich said Belorussia will make decisions on such matters as privatisation "within the framework of our independence". He, however, did not rule out the possibility of consultations and exchange of experience on privatisation of state property with other Commonwealth states, adding "they can be mutually beneficial".

"The problem of privatisation should include the peculiarities of each region, including its geographic situation and national traditions," Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev said.

"That's why there can be no identical privatisation and de-nationalisation in sovereign republics. But I've always believed that the coordination of activities during

our transition to a market economy would be useful for all states," Nazarbayev said.

Yeltsin said U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney's words that Russia continues to produce and deploy strategic missiles directed against the United States are "a supposition, not an assertion".

The president stressed Russia is adherent to the INF Treaty and "strictly abides by it". Yeltsin said that by 1994 Ukraine and Belorussia "with the help of Russia and the United States will completely eliminate nuclear weapons on their territories".

Leaders' Comments

LD3112124191 Moscow TASS in English 2221 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Minsk December 30 TASS—After eight hours of debates behind closed doors, today's Commonwealth summit in Minsk resulted in signing 15 documents, including those on the strategic forces, the Armed Forces and the border troops.

Nine documents were signed by heads of states and six—by heads of governments, summit participants told a half-an-hour news conference here today. The meeting was attended by seven out of 11 Commonwealth member-states. Leaders of Armenia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Tajikistan had to return home because of urgent matters.

Asked why the summit did not adopt the Commonwealth rules, Belarussian leader Stanislav Shushkevich said "it is difficult to elaborate a long-term document at the transitional period".

Touching on the Commonwealth relations with foreign countries, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said the member-states recognized "each of them has the right to the corresponding established just share of property of the former Soviet Union abroad, and they will contribute to the fulfillment of this right."

Speaking of the single Commonwealth television and radio company, Boris Yeltsin said, although the former Soviet state television and radio company had passed under the Russian jurisdiction, they decided to use the first channel of the Central TV as the Commonwealth one, the second channel will be Russian, the third—Moscow's, and the fourth—educational.

Commentary: 'Final Attempt' at 'Normal Life'

PM3112105991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondent G. Shipitko: "Discussion in Minsk Was More Difficult Than Expected"]

[Text] The meeting of Commonwealth heads of state, which, as is well known, had been preceded by two other meetings, in Minsk and Alma-Ata, began at 1100 hours 30 December. Judging by the agenda, the process of the creation of a new Commonwealth without parallels in the history of state formations promises to put a stop to the endless questions as to who will be the legal successor to the collapsed Union. That is a question that vitally concerns not only the millions of people living on the territory of our one-sixth of the globe but also, without exaggeration, the entire world community.

So the 11 heads of independent states and the same number of heads of government assembled to answer the question of the basis on which the Commonwealth will exist. Ten of the 13 proposed items on the agenda were approved, giving an entirely unambiguous answer—the Commonwealth proposes to have quite firm forms of relations with a set of institutions regulating their relations and common finances to maintain the coordinating institutions. The meeting is discussing agreements on defense questions, on the Commonwealth's television and radio company and its press organ, and on environmental emergencies. The questions of vital interest include an agreement on distributing food purchased with credits from foreign states. The agenda includes questions like temporary measures for the coordinated use of diplomatic and consultative missions, legal succession regarding the former Union's property, and the procedure for signing and implementing agreements on political, economic, scientific and technical, and cultural collaboration among the Commonwealth member states, and also agreements on cooperation in the spheres of culture and space.

As our correspondent N. Matukovskiy reported from Minsk, the Council began its session behind closed doors. We will learn of the decisions during the afternoon at a press conference that has already been announced.

But it has already been learned from sources close to the government that it is proposed to create a foreign ministers committee. It is necessary right now to resolve the exceptionally complex and delicate question of interethnic conflicts. A large group of residents of the Dnestr region came to meet with the heads of state from Moldova. They are trying to convince them of the need to create an autonomous Dnestr republic independent of Moldova.

It has also been learned that the creation of interethnic conciliation organs that will attempt to resolve interethnic conflicts by peaceful, diplomatic means is being prepared. The idea is being entertained of setting up special troops, like UN troops, who could go into a buffer zone and extinguish the tension and prevent the conflict from developing into a civil war.

It is easy to see from the list of questions, given a very approximate assessment of the approaches, that the Commonwealth, while remaining independent in its

component parts, is seeking in its actions to create in the main, fundamental directions toward unity. [sentence as published] That is probably the first encouraging conclusion from the conference that has begun in Minsk. Another equally important conclusion is that the future Commonwealth seems finally to be realizing that without a single economic area and mutual actions it may not prove viable. I think that is an extremely encouraging fact that holds out a promise to us all in the future of moving away from national economic isolation toward the emergence of economic relations.

At press time the editorial office did not have all the conference materials. But it can be asserted with the utmost clarity, and there is every reason for this, that the meeting itself did not proceed all that smoothly and cloudlessly. In addition to the simple, logical awareness of particular realities, there are political realities. And it is here most of all that all kinds of submerged reefs and disagreements should be expected. The statements made by the heads of state before their arrival in Minsk, and also the positions they voiced at the previous two meetings make it possible to form that opinion.

In the two hours initially allocated for discussion of the 10 questions included on the agenda, it was possible to agree only one of them—the draft agreement on coordinating institutions. A 30-minute break has now been announced at the conference. After the break the sides began discussing the second item on the agenda—the agreement on defense questions for the transitional period.

Today it is clear that the Commonwealth of Independent States is the final attempt to switch to a normal life and join the civilized world. Otherwise everyone is threatened by the unpredictability of economic life, which may reduce society to a crisis from which the way out could be long and difficult.

Military

Aircraft Carrier Moved From Ukraine to Murmansk

LD2812032691 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 27 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Belousov]

[Text] Murmansk December 27 TASS—The biggest Soviet aircraft-carrying cruiser has changed its port of call. The "Kuznetsov" cruiser left the Black Sea coast of Ukraine and is now assigned to the Northern fleet, based in the Russian ice-free port of Murmansk.

The vessels docked on Thursday at a specially-built wharf in Murmansk.

The cruiser is not yet carrying any planes or helicopters, although Navy test pilots have already landed and taken off from the ship. The "Kuznetsov" will soon be armed with MIG-29 and SU-27 interceptors.

Burlakov Views Troop Withdrawal From Germany

AU2812175191 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 28 Dec 91 p 8

[Article by Colonel General Matvey Prokopyevich Burlakov, commander in chief of the Western Group of Soviet Forces: "Firm Belief in Peace and Good-Neighborly Relations"]

[Text] In the current stage of the large-scale changes in our homeland, the fate of our armed forces interests not only the citizens of our state but also many people abroad, including Germans. This is understandable. The Western Group of Soviet Forces [WGSF], one of the biggest military groups of our armed forces abroad, is stationed on German soil.

I can say with confidence that the Soviet soldiers have fulfilled their historic mission on German territory. During the postwar period, our troops acted as a stabilizing factor for Europe's security. Even in the period of the "cold war" they maintained good neighborly relations with the German people. Today these relations have reached a qualitatively new level.

Just like in the case of many people in the former Soviet Union, the "wounds of war" as a result of family losses in that harsh time hurt. Today's generation in Germany, too, suffered heavily under the harsh war, but today we must follow the path of reconciliation and establishment of new relations. Time heals the wounds.

When the German people made their choice and decided to unite the two states, the soldiers of the WGSF demonstrated their profound respect for this striving, did not prevent the process of unification, and contributed to this process with all permissible means.

In 1945 we came to Germany as liberators, and now the soldiers of the WGSF return to their homeland—with the firm belief in peace and good-neighborly relations with the German people.

With the support by German federal, land, and local authorities we are concluding the biggest campaign that has ever been conducted in Europe. I can say that the 1991 withdrawal schedule has been fulfilled by 100 percent. This year 165,000 persons will be withdrawn from the territory of the FRG. This is the entire annual program. The Soviet troops have completely vacated 58 bases, including cities, such as Magdeburg, Cottbus, Erfurt, Halle, and Burg. For 1992 it is planned to withdraw 30 percent of personnel, weapons, and equipment. A total of 158 facilities will be handed over to the German side. Our troops will vacate the cities of Dresden, Leipzig, Naumburg, Jena, Weimar, Perleberg, Ludwigslust, Hagenow, and others.

The good cooperation with the German authorities contributes to the withdrawal of our troops according to plan. Cooperation on issues involving withdrawal takes place primarily through the German liaison command with the WGSF and through the representatives of the

land governments. My special thanks go to State Secretaries Wimmer and Bertele; Major General Foertsch, head of the German Liaison Command with the WGSF; to the land government representatives for the WGSF, Domke, Schnellecke, Kalendrusch, and others. They are cultivating businesslike relations with us and understand our problems.

Of course, the return of our troops to their homeland is linked with solving many vital problems. First and foremost, the problems involve the accommodation of the families and the soldiers and sergeants doing basic military service. Of the total number of soldiers who left Germany in 1991, 15,000 families do not have any place to live at home. In 1992 almost 20,000 families in this situation will be withdrawn. I do not want to accuse anyone of delaying construction work on the apartments, but I appeal to the governments of our state and of Germany and ask them to implement more effective measures for the construction of apartments on the territory of the former USSR with the DM7.8 billion, which have been provided for that. Unfortunately, the speed of construction of these apartments leaves a lot to be desired. This year we have not received a single one of the planned 36,000 apartments. Hopefully, we will get 2,000 apartments. What about the other 13,000 families?

A great number of problems have developed as a result of the evaluation of the real estate and the use of the means gained from that for social programs. Over the 46 years of our stay on German territory we built 21,000 different buildings here: 1,280 apartment houses—these are almost 20,000 apartments—401 shops, 700 barracks with 121,000 places, 371 mess halls with 134,000 places, as well as 28 airports. Our experts assess the value of this property at DM10.5 billion. It would be good if this property were evaluated in a business-like manner, as the treaty prescribes, and if all realized means were primarily used for the construction of apartments for the soldiers' families.

The social programs of the withdrawing WGSF soldiers are also financed with means that come from the sale of various kinds of property on the German market, such as scrap metal, coal dust, some kinds of building materials, and other things.

Because we see the difficulties concerning the solution of the housing problem, which have been deliberately created by some republic leaderships in the Union and by some circles of the German Government—this refers to deadlines and too high prices (DM78.8 billion for 36,000 apartments with infrastructure)—we have started successful negotiations with the leaders of some local authorities in Russia and in other republics to buy the apartments for hard currency, which we get out of the sale of the WGSF property. The local authorities of the Stavropol district in Russia have declared their readiness to sell us 1,000 apartments—240 of them next year—at a price of DM5,000 to DM6,000 for an apartment with two to three rooms. This is the most realistic and cheapest way, which requires the accelerated evaluation of our property and of our mobile assets. Our German partners can help us in this matter.

The second task, which the WGSF is solving at the moment, is the perfection of the quality of combat training to raise discipline and order in our troops. In WGSF combat training utmost attention is paid to the individual training of the soldier, the holding of tactical maneuvers up to the level of a battalion, which is in full harmony with the treaty of 12 October 1990. As is known, any army can function as a healthy, organized mechanism only with a well- functioning combat training system. We are aware of the fact that combat training causes some inconvenience to the local population. Therefore, we have reduced its intensity. In the training of pilots, for instance, we have set a minimum height of 600 meters, and during tank shooting the use of combat shells is prohibited. Of course, we cannot completely cease combat training.

Good-neighborly relations with the German leadership and attentive behavior by the German people greatly contribute to fulfilling our difficult tasks. We are, therefore, paying much attention to developing confidence, good-neighborly relations, and cooperation between the WGSF soldiers and the Bundeswehr and the local population.

Our troops have welcomed Ministers Genscher and Stoltenberg, Minister Presidents Stolpe and Engholm, and Hannelore Kohl and others. Exchange of military delegations and mutual visits of journalists and politicians are taking place.

In the Soviet garrisons we have regular open-house days. This year there were three such days in more than 50 garrisons, which were visited by thousands of Germans. This pleases us. I think that this will permit us to cultivate our soldiers's good feelings for the Germans, and the Germans' good feelings for our troops. I hope that these relations will achieve a new quality and will become even closer and more business-like. The latest official visits by Russian President Yeltsin and Air Marshal Shaposhnikov, defense minister of the former USSR, to Germany and their talks with the leaders of your country will considerably contribute to this process.

We know that in the course of these negotiations between the defense ministers of the former USSR and the FRG an agreement was concluded to expand the "geography" of the contacts between our soldiers. From the relations between the individual units and groups as well as the military teaching institutions they are being further developed among our soldiers, who are simple people. For our part, we are willing to establish varied contacts with the Bundeswehr. I even propose joint training and maneuvers.

We are far away from our homes, but we feel linked with our great country by thousands of threads. We attentively follow the events there and experience everything. The entire staff received the positive changes in Russia and in other republics with great satisfaction. This is no

coincidence, because we are sons of all our former Soviet republics. We want all republics to live on in the new union or commonwealth. It is not important what this union is called. The most important thing is that we live together, that we preserve the unity and the common command of the armed forces.

Only unification can save us from the imminent danger of destroying and losing the century-old ties, which have linked the history of our peoples, families, and people on one-sixth of the earth.

Perhaps my monologue is not very festive. I said what I am pondering at the moment. Even on holidays we cannot simply forget all our earthly worries.

Other things are important, and we must tackle these tasks with optimism. I want to take this article as an opportunity to convey to the German people and to the Bundeswehr soldiers best wishes. I wish all of them good health, peace, and well-being. On behalf of the WGSF command, I would like to thank those German families who have invited WGSF soldiers into their homes for Christmas. I am sure that this will contribute to consolidating mutual understanding between our peoples.

Military 'Social Explosion' 'Poses Problems'

LD3012233791 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Rudenko]

[Text] Tula, Central Russia, December 30 TASS—"We have opened our holsters, but have not decided where to fire," one of helicopter-pilots from the regiment withdrawn from Czechoslovakia 18 months ago told TASS, referring to their poor living conditions.

It is the second winter helicopter-pilots and their families live in the so-called Afghan module-barracks. It seems they will have to live there for much longer.

The Tula town authorities have decided to build on the Tula outskirts a military settlement with shops, schools and kindergartens. But it will take almost a year only to design the settlement.

The pilots' patience is running out. The discipline has become lax. As a result, several combat missiles have been recently stolen from the guarded ground.

The pilots are uncertain about their future, and many of them send in reports on their retiring or transmission to other garrisons. One fourth of the best helicopter-pilots have left the regiment within a year.

The situation the pilots found themselves in does not differ much from that of the majority of military formations withdrawn from Eastern Europe over the past year or two. The withdrawals, some done unjustifiably quickly, of Soviet troops from Hungary, Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia provoked a certain tension among the military.

Similar dismal situation is now awaiting dozens of thousands of militarymen and members of their families stationed in the Baltic states, whose authorities insist on their withdrawal.

In the opinion of observers, this is fraught with a social explosion among the military and poses problems at the current summit of the Commonwealth member-states in Minsk.

Cooperatives Formed for Servicemen To Find Jobs

LD3012161591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] A special employment unit for former Soviet Army and KGB servicemen has been set up at Moscow's Labor Exchange, taking into account the growing number of retired officers applying for work every day. An association of army veterans also helps military men find jobs; for that purpose, it created nearly 1,000 cooperatives.

Lithuania

Official Holds Briefing on CIS Approval

OW3012224091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2042 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The press attache of the Lithuanian parliament, Mr. Audrius Azubalis, said at a press briefing in Vilnius today (December 30) that the Lithuanian government approved of the forming of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The Baltic states, Mr. Azubalis said, wished to have good relations both with the Commonwealth as a whole and with its individual member states. He cited a statement to this effect made by the chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, at a meeting with members of German youth organizations in Vilnius today.

"At the same time," Mr. Azubalis emphasised quoting Mr. Landberis, "we gravitate towards central and northern Europe rather than towards Eurasia."

Officers from the Lithuanian Defence Department had a fight with a group of young men in a dance pavilion in the town of Nemencine near Vilnius yesterday (December 29) during which a rifle was fired into the air.

Mr. Azubalis decribed the fight as "a deplorable incident", saying some people had been wounded, though not by the rifle fire.

The prosecutor's office of Vilnius District has institutcd criminal proceedings. According to preliminary unofficial information, the fight was started by local people.

Landsbergis Comments on Commonwealth

PM3112124991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[By Nikolay Lashkevich under the "Direct Line" rubric: "V. Landsbergis Restrained in Assessing Commonwealth"]

[Text] Vilnius—Speaking on 29 December at the third "Sajudis" congress, V. Landsbergis assessed quite cautiously the emergence of the new Commonwealth in the East.

He said that if it has a single foreign border, army, and money, then the Commonwealth may start to resemble the former Union. We shall see, he said, whether the independent states really have the independence their peoples wanted. The Lithuanian leader imparted to the congress delegates his impressions of the news conference of the heads of the Commonwealth countries in Alma-Ata. In his opinion the presidents of some small independent states sat at the news conference "with no joy in their faces and no enthusiasm in their hearts."

Lithuania fears that having changed in form the new Commonwealth will remain imperial in content and will adopt its former tough stance with regard to the Baltic states, especially Lithuania. With whom exactly should various problems, including questions of the withdrawal of troops, be decided at talks?

Trade Agreement Signed With Kazakhstan

OW3012162291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Vice-Premier of Lithuania Vytautas Pakalniskis and First Vice-President of Kazakhstan Evleny Yozhikov-Babakhanov signed a trade agreement between Lithuania and Kazakhstan for 1992 in Vilnius December 29.

Trade turnover between the two republics is expected to reach 100 million rubles. The agreement envisages clearing trade at world prices. In case one of the sides introduces its own currency, additional talks will be held.

Communist Party's Burokievicius Interviewed

PM3012140991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Dec 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Mikolas Burokievicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by Jonas Stonaytis; date and place not given: "Persecuted for Dissent"—first two paragraphs are correspondent's introduction]

[Text] They are searching for him in Lithuania.... Large pictures of Mikolas Burokievicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, have been printed in in the newspaper VECHERNIYE NOVOSTI.... "Prof. Burokievicius is a dangerous criminal... He is the instigator of January's bloody events in Vilnius...." This is what the "independent" Lithuanian press is writing about him. Gallant fellows from the security department are on duty day and night beneath the windows of his house on Kalinauskas Street.

Let it remain my secret as a journalist as to how I obtained an interview with Prof. Burokievicius. Our meeting took place in one of those secret apartments.

[Stonaytis] Mikolas Martynovich, how are you feeling? Haven't all these upsets affected your health?

[Burokievicius] Yes, they have; I'm no longer young. But I am for the moment bearing up, although the prosecutor, J. Gaudutis, is stating that "death by a heart attack" will strike me down. I will do everything to ensure that his cherished wish does not come true.

How can I be privy to the plot I am being accused of when the Lithuanian Communist Party did not organize a single one? What about the parliamentary deputies, which Mr. Landsbergis heads, who, without the voters'

consent, from 11 March 1990 really did carry out a state coup in Lithuania by changing the republic's state and social system.

The banning of the Lithuanian Communist Party in the republic 22 August 1991 finally established the authoritarian regime, which Landsbergis heads. It is a parallel of the regime established after the reactionary, pro-fascist coup of 17 December 1926, which A. Smetona headed. What they have in common is the establishment of personal power, settling scores with the democratic system, and demagoguery. As early as 23 August, fabricated accusations against the Communist Party leaders began to appear thick and fast. Both the January and August events were attributed to them.

The Lithuanian leaders are now striving to bring a political lawsuit against the Communist Party and its first secretary. The apparatus of the republic's organs of repression are juggling with the facts.

[Stonaytis] How is life underground for you?

[Burokievicius] I will say a few words about the circumstances which forced me underground. Toward evening on 22 August detachments of the territorial protection department and the police surrounded the building of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. Automobiles traveling away from the entrance were fired upon and people who left the building were frog-marched away. I and my comrades who were in the building were blockaded inside, we could not get out. I decided to remain, as I did not not feel that I was to blame for anything. I asked my comrades to leave the Central Committee building. But they reminded me quite categorically of the demand of the Central Committee bureau members and gorkom [city party committee] and raykom [rayon party committee] secretaries regarding the need to change the conditions of our life and our struggle.... I gave in to them. We succeeded in getting out.

I will say frankly that the underground is not a pleasant place to be. But I have met many splendid and courageous people in this enforced underground existence. I have had the idea to write a book: "What Happened in Lithuania?"

[Stonaytis] What is your attitude toward Alfred Rubiks' incarceration? At the present time 30 attorneys are working on Rubiks' case, and with ever greater frequency laconic reports are appearing in the press about their not finding anything to pin on him. Do you think that the Rubiks case is in its own way something like that of Burokievicius?

[Burokievicius] It is said that Alfred Rubiks made some statement during the August events. But I don't believe he did anything illegal. Rubiks is an upright person. I consider his incarceration to be groundless, contrary to common sense and international law. You should not punish people for their political activities and communist convictions. I know that there is no particular love lost between the reactionary Lithuanian circles and myself inasmuch as I came out in favor of an independent, sovereign Lithuanian state within a renewed Union.

I can see that the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office is not presently carrying out an objective investigation. Being guided by political interests, they are attributing to me "public appeals to undermine the Lithuanian Republic's sovereignty and to overthrow state power by force"—or to put it simply, to organize a state coup. This is inconceivable.

[Stonaytis] What is your attitude toward the present Lithuanian leadership's demands for the Soviet Army's immediate withdrawal from the Baltic countries?

[Burokievicius] The Lithuanian leadership's aim is to integrate Lithuania into the West's military structures. This also explains Mr. Landsbergis' uncompromising position with regard to the soonest withdrawal of units of the Soviet Army from Lithuania. Questions of the withdrawal of Soviet soldiers and officers from Lithuania should only be resolved by talks at the highest state level. It is necessary to take into consideration one factor: Humane living conditions should be prepared for the Soviet soldiers and officers and for members of their families in their new location. The Soviet troops in Lithuania are not interfering in matters concerning parliament and the government. Again, let us not after all forget that it was the Soviet Army itself which liberated Lithuania from the brown scourge. The Lithuanian people will be eternally grateful to it for this.

[Stonaytis] Lithuania has been recognized in the world as a sovereign state. It has become a member of the United Nations. Prime Minister Vagnorius assures the world public that nobody will be persecuted in Lithuania for espousing dissenting views. But meanwhile Lithuanian Republic Government Resolution No. 390 is published, in which entries in a person's labor book concerning work within the structures of the Lithuanian Communist Party after 29 September 1990 (the date the Law on Political Parties came into effect—editor's note) are invalid, and the service which they represent is not being recorded. In practice, "Reds" are being taken on nowhere. Does this mean that the assurances of Landsbergis and Vagnorius are simply fraudulent?

[Burokievicius] Mr. Landsbergis' policies are aimed at reestablishing those economic structures which existed prior to 1940 in bourgeois Lithuania and at establishing an authoritarian regime in the republic. In this connection human rights are being flouted. It is most difficult of all today for those who worked within the Lithuanian Communist Party structures. They really are not being credited with service from 29 September 1990 to 22 August 1991 in spite of mandatory state social security. They are not being taken on anywhere. But consider, the majority of them have families.... In October I sent letters on these questions to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and Lithuanian Prime Minister Vagnorius

requesting them to resolve these questions favorably. But nothing was done. As you see, only resolution no. 390 has appeared. People are being persecuted for dissent in Lithuania, and the organs of repression continue to carry out searches and interrogations....

Mr. Landsbergis's trips to Western countries and his visit to Pope John Paul II—all of this is calculated to win him popularity and secure support for him in connection with the forthcoming elections to the Seimas and, evidently, even to the post of Lithuanian president.

[Stonaytis] What are your views on the future development of events in the Lithuanian Republic? How soon will Lithuania become a sort of "second Sweden" or "third Denmark" (for as we know Estonia intends to become the second Denmark)?

[Burokievicius] The Lithuanian Communist Party recognizes the fact of the existence of an independent Lithuanian state. I think that the Lithuanian Republic's development will occur in a very contradictory manner in all spheres of social life. At the current stage, there will be a significant fall in industrial and agricultural production. Life is more complex than the Lithuanian leaders' fantasies about a "second Sweden." Sweden has gone for several centuries without a war, which has secured its present prosperity. I have been to Denmark. It too has its own problems. Denmark is a very developed country, especially as far as agriculture is concerned. You cannot catch up with Denmark on a white charger.

But for the moment... For the moment the standard of living is falling, prices are continually climbing. The people's dissatisfaction with the government's economic policy is growing. The euphoria has passed. Now the people are beginning to think: What next?....

[Stonaytis] What fate in your opinion awaits those extraordinary people, Algirdas Brazauskas and Kazimiera Prunskiene in the near future?

[Burokievicius] Both Brazauskas and Prunskiene are capable and thoughtful politicians. I rate them highly as intellectuals. They are fighting bravely for democracy in Lithuania. Both are doubtless worthy of respect. I believe there will come a time when both Prunskiene and Brazauskas will become members of the Lithuanian state leadership and will play a positive role in it. Prunskiene's political courage particularly impresses me today.

[Stonaytis] The Lithuanian Communist Party is underground today. What are the organization's immediate aims and tasks?

[Burokievicius] The Lithuanian Communist Party did not tie its actions to any of the USSR's state, administrative, or military structures. It acted autonomously, using only political means. The Communist Party has come through intact. It has nothing to do with the armed underground (if such a thing exists now at all). As Lithuanian patriots, communists should defend the interests of the working people, irrespective of their national affiliation, political views, and faith; we should fight for a democratic system in Lithuania as well as try to get the Communist Party reregistered.

It is necessary to guard against extremism, strident behavior, or rash moves which may compromise the Lithuanian Communist Party. We need only a calm attitude, and the conviction that our cause is right! We are in favor of the Lithuanian state's territorial integrity and equal rights for all nationalities.

[Stonaytis] How is your family at the moment?

[Burokievicius] What has happened to me has, of course, affected my family's position. The spiritual pain they are enduring is more terrible than the bad physical conditions. They are living on my wife's small pension alone. Separation is distressing. My wife and I lived together for more than 40 years. I wish them both, my wife and my daughter, one thing—endurance.

[Stonaytis] What do you still believe in? What have you lost faith in?

[Burokievicius] I believe that a time will come when humanity and social justice will triumph, when genuine democracy will be victorious. I believe in a better life for man, in his wisdom; I believe in the creation of a civil society in which human rights are the most important thing.

What have I lost faith in? It weighs heavy on your heart when you think about certain politicians. Representatives of the Lithuanian authorities rebuke me for having remained a citizen of the USSR. Yes, I have done so. But I am a Lithuanian. I love Lithuania and am deeply convinced that not only links with the West are necessary for my republic's harmonious development but also good relations with its eastern neighbor, that is, with the Union....

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Returns From Minsk, Comments on Talks

LD3112025191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 31 Dec 91

[Text] Late tonight, Russian President Boris Yeltsin returned to Moscow from Minsk where he had taken part in a conference of Commonwealth heads of states. I will recall that the conference ended with the signing of 15 documents. After the conference, a 30- minute long news conference by leaders of Commonwealth member states was held in the Belarus capital. It was attended by only seven of the 11 heads of Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] member states.

The leaders of Armenia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan had to fly home because of pressing circumstances.

Having described the issue of armed forces as the most complex one, Boris Yeltsin told journalists that participants in the conference had agreed that strategic armed forces would be under a unified command subordinated to the council of heads of CIS member- states. As regards conventional armed forces, Yeltsin went on, we confirmed the right of each state to solve this in accordance with their laws—either to independently direct the armed forces or to transfer them to the unified command of the armed forces.

According to him, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova have stated so far that they will independently direct conventional armed forces.

Answering a question about the intention of Minister of Defense Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov to resign, Boris Yeltsin said that, in the course of the conference, all the differences which caused such a statement had been settled. He also announced the appointment of Colonel General Ilya Kalinichenko as commander in chief of the border troops. He has been instructed to prepare an accord on protecting state borders within two months.

Kozyrev: Minsk Outcome 'Only Half' of Agenda

LD3112110691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 31 Dec 91

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has described the outcome of the Minsk summit by the heads of the 11 states of the Commonwealth of Independent States as significant. According to him, the independent republics have inherited a very grave legacy. This applies primarily to military issues and property abroad. But experience comes from real life, Kozyrev stressed. He also said that the Minsk summit agreed on only half the items on its agenda.

Presidential Decree Issued on Security Ministry

925D0065A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Dec 91 p 3

["RSFSR Presidential Ukase 'On the Formation of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs'"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] In connection with ratification by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of the agreement creating the Commonwealth of Independent States on 8 December 1991, and in order to guarantee the security of the Russian Federation, I **decree**:

1. To form the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs.

Creation of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs is to be effected on the base of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Interrepublic Security Service, and the RSFSR Federal Security Agency.

To establish that in accordance with legislation, all buildings and installations, the material-technical base, data banks and systems, service documentation, and other property of the abolished ministries and departments are transferred to the ownership of the RSFSR.

The RSFSR minister of security and internal affairs is immediately to set up appropriate commissions and within one month complete the full transfer of the above-mentioned property to the authority of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs.

2. Within one month the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs will draw up and submit for approval provisions on the ministry and its structure, making provision for a separate direction that insures the state security of the RSFSR.

3. To establish that workers in the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs and its organs are to be maintained by the standards and procedure for material support and the rights, privileges, and advantages envisaged for corresponding categories of workers in the organs of state security and internal affairs.

4. When forming the 1992 budget the RSFSR Government will make provision for allocation of the necessary financial and material resources for the reliable functioning of the system of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs.

5. To insure reliable social protection for servicemen and personnel at rank-and-file and ranking levels, and also employees of the abolished ministries and departments. To grant permission that until 1 July 1992, associates of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs who have served their established periods, and those who are made redundant as staffs are reduced, will remain as part of the makeup of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs.

The RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs will insure that highly skilled leaders, operational workers, investigators, and other categories of workers needed for the reliable functioning of the newly formed ministry are retained in the service.

6. The RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs together with the RSFSR Ministry of Justice will within a period of six months submit proposals on making changes to legislative enactments in connection with the formation of the new ministry.

7. This ukase enters into force from the moment that it is signed.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR

[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin

19 December 1991

Court Demands Suspension

LD2912222891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] It has been reported by the press service of Russia's Constitutional Court that the president of Russia has made no response whatsoever to that body's demand that the decree setting up the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation be suspended. The accelerated fulfillment of that document, despite the decision of the Russian parliament, is taking place at this moment, in direct violation of the law.

Further on Court Ruling

PM3112104291 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 91 p 2

[L. Nikitinskiy report: "Court Makes Ruling—Yeltsin Departs for Conference"]

[Text] It is not the first, hasty move of a new power that defines its future face, it is the second—committed thoughtfully and in cold blood.

Last week the Russian Constitutional Court demanded the suspension of the president's decree on the merger of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and KGB in the republic. Let us not go into the substance of the matter, because the reason why the court demands the suspension (not the repeal) of a decree is so that the matter can be studied. As of today the point is that apparently no one has taken any notice of this ruling, and the feverish formation of the still unexplained Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs is continuing, in effect, illegally.

It should be recalled that when the question of instituting the post of president in Russia was debated at the Russian Congress heatedly and to the point of hoarseness, with a fluctuating majority of only a few votes, this plan, behind which the figure of B. Yeltsin could clearly be glimpsed, also implied the creation of an authoritative Constitutional Court.

In accordance with the principle of the separation of powers into legislative, executive, and judiciary, this stool can only stand on three legs, certainly not on two. In a situation in which there is confusion and vacillation in parliament, the only real guarantee against presidential tyranny—intentional or otherwise—is the Constitutional Court.

True, we need an authority that is firm, and possibly in some respects even ruthless, but to brush aside the court is to jeopardize the future of democracy. If the year began with unlawful acts by one president and ends with disrespect for the court by another, it is not very hard to imagine where this chain will lead us: backward, to where the finishing line becomes the start of a vicious circle of lawlessness.

News Conference Outlines MVD, KGB Merger

LD2712145491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] We have already reported to you that the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs has been created by decree of the RSFSR president. Today a news conference was held on this event. However, it started at the same time as the hearing on this issue began in the Russian parliament, which in its turn has not yet come up with its own views regarding the need to create such a ministry. In short, the situation around the new ministry is still very undefined.

[Correspondent Perfilyev] Our criminal world continues to beat all the conceivable and inconceivable records. Over 2 million crimes have been registered by the former Union Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] since the beginning of this year. The very department which is supposed to protect us is under another reorganization. The new body is being created on the basis of USSR MVD—now being abolished—the Russian MVD, the Interrepublican Security Service, and the Russian Federal Security Agency.

[Lieutenant General Yerin, identified by caption] The matter is that the legislators have made provisions for the executive powers to efficiently decide questions which include the creation of new structures and new formations within the state mechanism. In this context the presidential decree is irreproachable in its judicial, so to speak, form. I believe that the legislators will be actively helping in forming the new ministry because there is a need to adopt serious legislative acts—for example, on fighting organized crime, on corruption, on state service, on operational and search work. Our criminal legislation and criminal-procedural legislation is desperately obsolete.

[Perfilyev] You were introduced as the first deputy minister of the new ministry?

[Yerin] No, I am the former first deputy minister. Now we do not have any posts. We have only one person appointed to the post so far by the decree of the president—he is Minister Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov.

Planned Security, Internal Ministry Viewed

PM3012103591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Stegalov "Commentary": "Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs: Unequal Marriage?"]

[Text] The idea of combining the internal affairs and state security organs under one roof has given rise to sharp and perfectly understandable polemics. In this the polemicists, schooled in bitter Soviet historical experience, are concerned, above all, about a question of a general political order—are we not seeing the revival of the punitive monopolist monster which will take us back to the times of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, the Combined State Political Administration, and the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs? Yes, such a danger does exist in principle; however, let us look at the problem from the other side. Which of the merging departments will "have" what? Why are Moscow and St. Petersburg Federal Security Agency employees stating their intention to resign en masse, while their colleagues in the internal affairs organs have no intention of doing so?

It must be pointed out at once that leading workers of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] system have recently been quite actively advancing the initiative of entrusting the fight against crime to a single pair of shoulders. Various arguments have been cited here, including this one, for example: State security solves few cases connected with organized crime, for example, and "floats down" all hopeless cases to their department. And so there is no need for duplication in work.

It is possible, in principle, to quarrel with such arguments, if only because internal affairs organs register with the "Organized Crime" section solved cases involving criminal groupings (although this is frequently not at all one and the same thing), while the KGB has solved really notorious cases where the mafia was present in its classic form, such as the Yeliseyev's case.

But even without this particular dispute it is not hard to understand the MVD structures' active desire to unite. The craving to unite, in my view, results from the fact that the MVD gains access to the special equipment, the scientific and analytical potential, and the information base of the former KGB. Which, of course, will enable many MVD subdivisions to resolve their many problems.

However, according to the law of the conservation of matter, what is added to one side must be taken away from the other. And that does not give rise to optimism among counterintelligence officers, for example. The point is that most of the KGB's equipment is used by counterintelligence, by the directorate for combatting terrorism, and by the so-called "OP (organized crime) directorate. In other words, it is already in great demand. But now it will also be used by the internal affairs structures, which have a great many operational measures...

Not everything is turning out smoothly with regard to the information base either. If it becomes a joint base (and how can it be otherwise?), then instances of the intentional or unintentional blowing of agents' cover are probable and even inevitable at the level of operational matters—which will, of course, hit that same counterintelligence hardest of all.

There is also an important nuance concerning information. The celebrated Lefortovo Prison, the only place where the virtually complete information blockade of persons under investigation—spies, terrorists, and particularly dangerous mafiosi—can still be observed, must logically also pass under joint jurisdiction with the creation of the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs. Will it not happen that a different intake will end up there, and then there will no longer be any question of a confidential blockade—everyone knows the speed with which items of news spread around penitentiary establishments within the system of the former MVD.

And I should also like to mention one more thing—the struggle against organized crime. So far a parallel struggle has been waged by the operational investigations bureaus, associated to the internal affairs organs, and by the state security structures subordinate to the "Organized Crime" directorate. Today the former and the latter are virtually uncorrupted. But I am not sure that the situation will not change after the creation of a single service. You do not need to be highly intelligent to work out that it is far simpler to buy one structure than it is to buy too, and not only for financial reasons: So far the staffers of the local operational investigation bureaus and "OP" sections have through their agents controlled each other one way or another.

And one last point. A reference to foreign experience was heard at the conference. It was said that in the developed countries too there are organizations which engage in both counterintelligence and crime. Indeed such services do exist, for instance the FBI in the United States. But in the United States the struggle against terrorism, for instance, is waged by the CIA and other organizations in addition to the FBI. And this duplication does not confuse anyone in the developed countries (so far punitive monopolism has remained the domain of the socialist camp). Will our latest attempt to travel our own path not lead into an impasse, as has already happened many times before?

Legal Group Chief Criticizes KGB Merger

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[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1653 GMT on 28 December broadcasts a 12-minute recorded interview with A.A. Aslakhanov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's committee on legality, law and order, and the fight against crime, by correspondent Rasul Mikailov. The interview begins with Aslakhanov asked to comment on the Russian president's decree merging the Russian and Union KGB and Interior Ministries. Aslakhanov says:

"On the instructions of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, the other day the chief Supreme Soviet committees examined the Russian Federation president's decree on merging four ministries—two Russian: the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the republican KGB; and two Union: the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB—into one. To judge from the way the discussion went, one could conclude, and unambiguously so, that this decree was drawn up without taking account of the opinion of specialists, without taking account of the opinion of committees and heads of committees and members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium."

Mikailov then asks Aslakhanov how the decree came to be issued. "As is customary with the president's team," Aslakhanov replies, "the decree was drawn up bearing the stamp of a state secret, or top secret. No one knew anything about it, even many of those people who should know about the preparation of such a decree, but no one did—at least, that's what they told me. And what is more, the relevant committees were unaware of it—our committee, and the Supreme Soviet Security Committee." Aslakhanov adds that these legislative committees should have worked together with the executive power in the guise of the president's team on any such decree.

"Everyone is concerned that we will in effect be creating a state within a state," he says, because joining together the two ministries of internal affairs and the two KGB's—which have been renamed, he adds, but have not yet had time to reorganize—creates "a powerful force, a powerful force not only in the fight against crime, but a powerful force if it is targeted against democracy, too. I, in no way, want to suggest that it is being set up in our country for that purpose, or that it was planned to create such a force, but people are nevertheless worried about such huge power being concentrated in one pair of hands."

Aslakhanov then goes on to outline four reasons for such concern: The vast store of information at the disposal of the merged ministries; the concern that firm control should be exercised over the executive power; the "psychological incompatibility" of the two bodies, given the allegations of corruption which have been levelled against the security bodies; and the constant rivalry between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB to report their achievements.

Mikailov reminds Aslakhanov that in an interview he gave last year he was not opposed to the idea of such mergers between departments: Aslakhanov now explains that joint use of the material and technical resources is feasible, and he is naturally against any duplication. But many countries set up parallel structures in order to prevent corruption, he says, and in the Russian case, while the KGB is in general better equipped, the solution is to equip the militia better rather than to pool the same resources.

There were, Aslakhanov points out, other possibilities for a restructuring of the security and internal affairs bodies, but they were not implemented, "and this decree appeared in the usual way, evoking astonishment, disappointment, and protests", he concludes.

Former KGB, MVD Deputies on New Ministry

92UN0555A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Dec 91 p 4

[Report by T. Kolganova: "It Does Not Look Like the NKVD..."]

[Text] A briefing was held in the building of the former USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] on 24 December. Former deputies of the RSFSR KGB and of the USSR MVD, Major General Anatoliy Oleynikov and Militia Lieutenant General Viktor Yerin, answered journalists' questions on the goals and tasks of the newly recreated ministry—for security and internal affairs—that combines in a single entity four former ministries: the USSR and RSFSR Ministries of Internal Affairs, the Interrepublic Security Service, and the RSFSR Agency for Federal Security.

They drew the attention of the audience to unjustified, in their opinion, fears that recently started to appear in the press in regard to the ministry, recently created by a presidential decree, being a sort of a monster similar to the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] that existed in the 1930's—the years of mass repressions. The generals believe that there is no ground for drawing such a parallel.

From their point of view, combining the four ministries is a thoroughly calculated step related to the reorganization of the entire system of law enforcement. Concentration of resources and money will not lead to the monopolization of power, as is feared, but rather will produce conditions for combating crime and espionage more effectively.

Viktor Yerin, referring to his experience as an operative who had gone through all the steps of the career ladder, said that the law enforcement organs are not a place for fostering competition. This is a very delicate specific sphere that requires in-depth professionalism. At the same time, in the former KGB only three or four sub-units have clear professional direction, while about 20 are duplicating analogous services in the MVD. This includes the personnel department, rear services, and so

on. They will be combined and pared down, which will make it possible to achieve substantial savings of the taxpayers' money.

Foreign experience is a testimony to the correctness of this decision. The United States, Italy, France, and the FRG all have single services that combine within the same structure criminal police, counterintelligence, and other services. Our neighbors to the east—former socialist bloc countries—are following the same road. In our interlocutors' opinion, the use of such experience will preclude a long period of adaptation between the MVD and the KGB.

Bakatin Not Under Investigation for Treason

PM3012143591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 91 p 2

[Special correspondent Captain Boris Soldatenko report under the rubric "On the Trail of a Sensation": "Is Bakatin Subject to the Law?"]

[Text] A state secret from which, incidentally, the "Top Secret" stamp has not been removed to this day, has been divulged to a foreign state. And what is more, this was not done by a spy, but by the leader of the Soviet special service—Vadim Bakatin, chairman of the Inter-republic Security Service [ISS].

What the aims of the former head of state security were in handing over to the American side diagrams of the location of audio monitoring equipment in the U.S. Embassy building in Moscow, and specimens of the actual devices, remains a mystery to us. But as A. Oleynikov, former deputy chairman of the ISS, reported to journalists, he believes that Bakatin took a huge political stride and thus brought the two states even closer together.

That is our side's assessment. But how did the other side react to the number one security officer's gift? Quite calmly. None of the representatives of their special services said thank you, not to mention the fact that no one hurried to reciprocate by handing over bugging devices in the Soviet Embassy building in Washington. Maybe these do not exist? I doubt it!

Following the abolition of the ISS, Vadim Bakatin's future position remains unclear. And rumors about the possible arrest of the former ISS chief are stubbornly continuing to be circulated in Moscow. But evidently this talk is not alarming Bakatin himself very much. Otherwise it would not be possible to explain the fact that after making such a thing public, he is going off on leave.

So is Bakatin subject to the law? Of course he is, because the corpus delicti is there—divulging documents that constitute a state secret. In legal language this act qualifies as treason. As for the question of whether there was evil intent in this action, that must be answered by an investigation. However, no one is carrying out any investigation. The Russian Prosecutor's Office is silent as if nothing had happened. In this connection, many security officers are wondering what would happen if an employee of these bodies handed over secrets to the U.S. ambassador? Would he keep his insignia on his uniform? And would he remain free? And the professionals also have other questions. How to continue working? What to do next? And this, let us note, at a time when the new CIA director Robert Gates is stating that their work involved in gathering information in the USSR has reached unprecedented proportions.

As they are saying in Lubyanka, representatives from other embassies are expected there with every passing day. They too are eager to find out whether secret devices for listening into conversations have been set up in their buildings.

Security Ministry Reportedly Destroys Records

PM2712153891 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 91 p 6

[TASS report: "Compromising Material Onto the Fire"]

[Text] The Russian Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs has commenced its activity by destroying "compromising material" on corrupt militia officials. One of the staffers of the Russian president's administration told TASS' correspondent about this. He said that the waiting line for the "stoves" now includes files on leaders of the state apparatus and politicians tainted with bribe-taking and links with the criminal world.

TASS' correspondent has learned that after the announcement of the merger of militia and state security organs 19 December this year, operational materials from the former Third Directorate of the USSR KGB fell into the hands of the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs.

In response to the TASS correspondent's question, the RSFSR Federal Security Agency reported that information obtained from the president's apparatus on the destruction of "compromising material" at the Russian Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs has been confirmed, but with one reservation: The destruction of files is not "indiscriminate," but selective. They are cleaning up the official records and protecting the futures only of high-ranking militia officials; the rest of those who have compromised themselves will answer to the full force of the law.

Further on Destruction of Files

PM2712161591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 91 p 1

[Feature comprising reports by Russian Federation Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs, L. Krutakov, and RIA, under general headline: "Former KGB: They Are Not Burning the Files"]

[Text] Report by Russian Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs [MSIA]—On 26 December information was circulated via TASS channels that the MSIA created by decree of the Russian president "began its activity by destroying 'compromising material' on corrupt militia officials." The source of the information, according to the report, is "a staffer of the Russian president's administration."

In this connection a meeting has been held at the Russian MSIA involving senior officials of the public relations centers of the former USSR Interrepublic Security Service [ISS] and the Russian Federal Security Agency [FSA].

They have unambiguously stated that these allegations do not in any way accord with the facts. All the materials relating to criminal societies and corrupt staffers of any state structures will be handed over to the corresponding investigative organs after prompt and thorough verification or elaboration in accordance with the legal norms.

In the internal affairs organs, as in the former state security structures, there are normative documents in force which forbid the destruction of any operational materials.

Thus the correspondent is, unfortunately, the victim of well-planned disinformation by those who are interested in causing a split between the two law-enforcement structures.

L. Krutakov report—The information on the destruction of dossiers on top officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs really excited the journalist fraternity.

V. Yanchenkov, chief of the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Public Relations Center, reported that such things undoubtedly occur, not only with regard to high-ranking militia officials but very influential politicians, too. Vladimir Aleksandrovich repudiated the TASS report, saying that he has no grounds for disbelieving the chiefs of the ISS and FSA press services, who assured him that this was utterly absurd. But at the same time he noted the great confusion now reigning in the structures that are being scrapped and the fact that new ones have not been formed.

V. Maslennikov, deputy chief of the press center of the outgoing ISS, confirmed the existence of dossiers on politicians of the democratic tendency. He refused to give any concrete information but said that the dossiers are being prepared for transfer to the new structures.

An aide of [ISS chief] Vadim Bakatin, V. Nikonov, who still occupies an office at the Lubyanka, remarked rather vaguely:

"These walls have seen many things, much has been destroyed here. Last year 550 volumes relating to the Sakharov case were destroyed, as were 105 volumes on the Solzhenitsyn case. When Bakatin joined the ISS, he personally ordered that this practice be stopped.

RIA report—On 26 December the Russian parliament proposed to the Russian president that the president's decree "On the Formation of the Russian Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs" be revoked insofar as it relates to the amalgamation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Federal Security Agency of the RSFSR.

Official on 'Compromising Material'

PM2712153591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Belykh report: "Just What Is the KGB Expecting"]

[Text] Russia's Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs has begun its activity by destroying compromising material concerning corrupt militia officers. TASS correspondent Sergey Oleynik was told this by a staffer of the Russian President's Administration. According to him, the next to be "consigned to the flames" will be files on state apparatus leaders and politicians who have compromised themselves through bribe-taking and ties with the criminal world.

General Aleksandr Karbainov, chief of the former USSR KGB Public Relations Center, described the agency report as a fabrication and declared that not one of the facts cited in the story corresponded to reality. Its sole aim is to sow discord between the staffers of the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs at the very first stage of the formation of their joint department.

According to Karbainov, it would not have been possible for compromising material relating to corrupt militia officers to have been destroyed at the relevant state security subdivisions either before or after the publication of the decree on the establishment of the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs—this would be at variance with the very logic of their work. Furthermore, a strict state commission ban prohibiting the destruction of any documents within the walls of the former KGB is still in force.

Incidentally, the last argument looks more than dubious. The state security department is notorious for having broken all kind of bans and laws without a twinge of conscience. Furthermore, according to rank-and-file members of the KGB, files on various "undesirable" persons have already been destroyed this year. Sometimes very valuable documents have gotten lost in the muddle. Including documents relating to prominent representatives of organized crime.

According to Aleksandr Karbainov, the TASS report claiming that former KGB Deputy Chairman Anatoliy Oleynikov "turned away" staffers of the Russian president's apparatus who requested to see the 1934 provisions on the status of state security organs within the NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] does not correspond to the truth either. They were acquainted with the materials in which they were interested. They were merely told that they could not photocopy the documents because of their confidential nature.

Rutskoy Calls For 'Precise' Action Program

PM2712145491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy by Vasiliy Izgarshev—date, place not given: "Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy: I Am Convinced My Views Are Right"]

[Text] He is just back from a major, difficult tour of three neighboring Asian countries. He had been to two of them before. In the skies of Afghanistan airman Aleksandr Rutskoy won his hero's star at the cost of his own blood. He found himself in Pakistan when the mujahidin, who had taken him prisoner, handed over the Soviet airman—who had been shot down by an air-to-air missile—to the Islamabad authorities. The vice president is full of impressions and experiences evoked by his trip. But that is not the subject of our conversation.

[Izgarshev] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, during your visit a Portuguese newspaper published an interview which you gave to its correspondent. In that interview, talking about the situation in the republic, you repeated your Siberian remarks about the forthcoming economic reforms in Russia...

[Rutskoy] But I have not changed my views on these reforms and their consequences—which are utterly deplorable for the vast majority of the population of our federation. When I was in Siberia, I became even more convinced that my views and conclusions are right. We did not think the reform right through. That is a fact. And I will not tire of repeating that, in any forum.

[Izgarshev] What do you mean by not "thinking it through"?

[Rutskoy] Two weeks ago in PRAVDA my attention was caught by two items next to each other on the same page. Advertising material for the Russian investment company "Rinako" and the "Volga" commodity exchange association, alongside a selection of readers' letters under the heading "On the Brink." You can not read these letters without a lump in your throat. People write about humiliation, poverty, lack of rights, about crazy waiting lines and the outrageous speculation that is sweeping the country.

And right next to that, the highly successful businessmen from "Rinako" and the exchange association advertise their present and future achievements. Is this right? Is that what we started perestroyka for, so as to make the country form up in waiting lines outside empty stores? So as to pay three or four hundred in commercial stores for a kilogram of cheese made at a state dairy? And 200 rubles [R] for a kilogram of butter? What is this?

[Izgarshev] Witty journalists are now saying cheese, butter, sausages, "and other colonial goods"...

[Rutskoy] Jokes like that are not funny any more. Poverty against a background of flourishing commodity exchanges that are raking in the capital, hundreds of exchanges trading and reselling goods made at state enterprises. These goods are produced by the working class and the peasantry, and resold at prices five, six, even 15 times their value. And the worst thing that happens is this—intermediary capital crowds out production capital, causing the development of entrepreneurship not in the production sphere, but in the sphere of mediation. Money is working to make money. Hence inflation, the lack of ready money (while the printing presses produce more and more cash, spurring inflation into yet another spiral), the production decline, and so forth.

[Izgarshev] But that is not the market...

[Rutskoy] It is just piracy.

[Izgarshev] Let us regard this as an introduction to our discussion. And now let us move on to the main topic. Why are all kinds of accusations now being made against Rutskoy in the newspapers? What is the origin of the rumor about the vice president's resignation?..

[Rutskoy] I will answer that. But first I want to go back to my dialogue in Siberia and what I saw there. I realized that it is one thing to be in your office responding to written complaints or to receive visitors and perform other official duties, but it is another matter to go and look at things on the spot and see what is really happening in the country.

[Izgarshev] Are our leaders really so cut off from real life that they do not see the waiting lines even in Moscow? They have to go down the streets on the way to work...

[Rutskoy] They see it all, but unfortunately they do not draw conclusions from it. This is the point. At the moment Rutskoy is being pulled to pieces. I have never been afraid of anyone and I am not afraid now. You have known me a long time, I have always said what I think and will continue to say what I think about what I see in life. I do not know how to go along with other people's ideas. Because I personally do not find it acceptable for the things set forth in the selection of letters called "On the Brink" and in the advertisements for joint-stock companies and the stock exchange association to coexist. Why? The market is not a panacea, but even as we build it we must not forget humanity to man. Man should come first in any society. Some journalist say that with my remarks I turned on Boris Nikolayevich. That is ridiculous.

A vice president elected by the people together with the president cannot go against the president. It defies logic. But, while advocating reforms, progressive and democratic reforms, at the same time I have a right to my own view of the implementation of these reforms. Our problem is that we are unwilling to learn from our own earlier mistakes. Take Gorbachev's perestroyka from 1985 to today. Six years. Six years of continuous intoxication and swings from right to left.

[Izgarshev] Empty words, promises.

[Rutskoy] Precisely. The result—a great power in ruins, plunged into poverty, forced to go begging for humanitarian aid. Was there a clear and precise program for perestroyka? A program that people could read and know that in a particular stage there will be these particular changes, in the next stage there will be further changes, and so forth. That comrade so-and-so is responsible for this point of the program, and another comrade for the next point. And behind it all, a legislative basis adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Did we have a program like that? No. We have chaos, in every sense.

And the Union Supreme Soviet messed things up, just like the Congress. Why? Because there was no outline plan. If there had been a clear and precise outline, a perestroyka program, then concrete stages would have been defined and we would not have found ourselves in such a state of wild confusion.

[Izgarshev] I liked what Abdulatipov said at the Russian session. He said that over the years the country's president has learned to walk to the left and to the right at the same time, but not to walk forward.

[Rutskoy] In short, my position is that everything should be preceded by a carefully considered system reflecting the essential features of the program of radical reforms. But we make everything up as we go along, it is all done intuitively. That is how the Russian Communist Party was set up. And where did it end? So now we are going to implement the reforms intuitively, but how will they end?

[Izgarshev] I think the conversion process also offers a graphic illustration of the lack of a plan or program.

[Rutskoy] We have tackled conversion several times. Immediately after the war, then again during the Khrushchev thaw... We did stupid things... But we should have drawn conclusions from it. So as to reach the standard of the MiG-29 and the SU-27 after the second conversion, look how many of his precious rubles the taxpayer had to shell out...

[Izgarshev] And is still shelling out.

[Rutskoy] Of course. The state cannot survive a single day without direct and indirect taxes. But in the course of the present conversion we are seeing yet another spiral in the ruin of the military-industrial complex, the ruin of defense science. And again we will have to restore everything, and at what cost. And who will answer for the undermining of the country's defense capability? You need not only sufficiency, but reason in everything. The perestroyka that M.S. Gorbachev announced, how did it end? In ethnic crisis, economic crisis, political crisis, social crisis. That is to say, in every sphere—crisis, crisis, crisis. And ultimately it could all end in a crisis of confidence.

And it is futile for the present government of Russia to think it will not have to answer for the ruin, the squandering of the fatherland. I think there will be a reckoning, and what a reckoning. It is a mistake and dangerous to test the people's patience too far. The danger is that it is very easy to slide from illusory democracy (anarchy) over the precipice, into dictatorship of the mob and its leaders. That cannot be allowed.

And so I want people to understand me. I am not in opposition, I am not in confrontation, I am for common sense and my voters' interests.

[Izgarshev] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, does the present government of Russia have a clear program for emerging from the crisis, a reform program?

[Rutskoy] That is a tricky question for me. You heard Boris Nikolayevich's speech at the Congress of People's Deputies. A good, businesslike speech. Like always, clear and intelligent. It expounds the overall plan of forthcoming actions, the proposed reforms. What am I criticizing the government for now? I will tell you. It should have immediately set up a group to plan an action program on the basis of what the president had set forth. That is to say, to define clearly and precisely the various stages, how we will progress. To clearly and precisely plan out the powers and distribute duties between the government and parliament. The government plans the reform, and parliament backs it up with laws. You see, in this double harness—the government and parliament, plus the president and vice president respectively, the mechanism would doubtless have started to work, and it would have been possible to see how things were going. But now, against a background of anarchy, how can the reforms work? Tax anarchy, price anarchy, anarchy in law and order, anarchy in local authorities. That is what grieves me. No, I have never adopted a position of confrontation. And, God willing, I will work eagerly and with pleasure with this government that we have, but even the government must know how to take criticism. We are living in a democratic society, and if you think my opinion is mistaken, then prove to me that I am wrong.

And do not relieve the vice president of his powers and duties, sweeping away literally all the structures he ran, and, even worse, taking advantage of his absence abroad. This is a fine example of pseudodemocracy, with pluralism in a single individual.

I reject all the insinuations against me, I condemn the intrigues and attempts to cause the vice president to quarrel with the government, and especially with the president, and I declare that I have not been and have no wish to be in confrontation with either the government or the president. Because their policy is my policy. And all my previous work both in parliament and in the post of vice president is, I think, evidence of that.

[Izgarshev] Do you still oppose price liberalization? Why?

[Rutskoy] No, I am in favor of liberalization. But I am against its immediate introduction. I am convinced that first we should impose order in the state's prices and taxation policy. We have a new law, but a law is not a taxation policy mechanism. Just look at the imbalance everywhere. Can you call it commerce, when state products are resold at many times the price they really cost?

Land reform and privatization must be carried out, only not by means of piracy and thieving, but through the issuing of shares and credit.

Let us take another look at price liberalization. People should reckon up their potential. The reckoning should be based not on what the vice president or deputy chairman of government earns, but on the income of someone who is bedridden or who mans a machine tool. On how he will live in this society if we implement this or that reform. After all, how was the minimum subsistence level of R342 arrived at? By what system? By plucking it out of nowhere, if you ask me. Out of thin air, as we Russians say. We are increasing the wages of soldiers, teachers, and doctors two- or three-fold. But what is the point, when prices for food and clothing have already increased 10- or 15-fold. And how much more will they go up! Ultimately, in 74 years we should have learned some humanity in dealing with people. If it is a question of price liberalization and the transition to the market, here too there should be a system. Why am I against it now? Let us look into it. First—prices have already been released, and if we release them still further, I am afraid they will run riot. And I do not want a social explosion. I do not want people to be shouting "Democrats, resign!" as they used to shout about the Communists. I do not want another dictator to come to power.

[Izgarshev] Some people in our country take democracy to mean permissiveness, the freedom to overthrow, to mock, to despise, to destroy.

[Rutskoy] Or to close and seal floors of buildings and switch off the electricity and telephones, as they did at the PRAVDA offices. Democracy is people's power. Since it is people's power, let us consider this—what should it be based on? On bayonets and rifles, or on the law? A rule-of-law state, as we call ourselves now, needs law. But in that case let us ensure that everyone is equal before the law—the president, the government chairman, the worker, the peasant, the teacher, the doctor, the soldier. Anyone who lives in this society. One law for all.

[Izgarshev] We lived under two laws for long enough. There was one law for the people from Staraya Ploshchad, another for everyone else over one-sixth of the globe.

[Rutskoy] From bolshevism to neobolshevism and from neobolshevism back again is one step. So let us not go on floundering about in the gap. I do not claim to be an economist. It is not my profession, we have the economist Yegor Gaydar. A first-rate economist. That is his prerogative. But I want to ask him questions, discuss things with him. How can you release prices today, when the economy is completely unbalanced? It is not going to be stabilized as a result of price liberalization. Why not? Look how many state enterprises we have today. Ninety-eight percent. What is the system for material and technical supply to these enterprises today? There is not one. Contractual relations are in ruins everywhere. We are coming up to 1 January, and contractual relations for material and technical supply have yet to be concluded. There is no state order as such. Finance is not planned. And then there is ruble inflation.

So what kind of a market system is that? Much has gone beyond reasonable limits. There are more than 600 commodity exchanges. More than 1,500 commercial banks, and cash is disappearing. Money is working to make money. We have lived to see the day when there is no money with which to pay wages. The money that we do earn abroad is not invested in developing production. Enterprise in the production sphere is at a standstill, because of the same old bureaucracy in a new guise. For a businessman to go abroad and resolve the question of importing goods, food, and technology is fiendishly difficult. So much for the regulated market.

And therefore, if it is a question of a regulating structure, then it is probably necessary to carry out privatization. Privatization of enterprises.

[Izgarshev] How?

[Rutskoy] Set up joint-stock companies, issue shares, give workers and engineering and technical personnel the opportunity to acquire these shares. Set up a system of material and technical supply within these joint-stock companies, so that everything is interlinked. In that way nonstate production structures will be created. They will tackle the market.

And another thing. Let us look at land reform in this connection. It is being sabotaged everywhere, bribery and corruption are flourishing. Yet the Supreme Soviet repeals the article on bribery. How can they? The land reform problem must be resolved. When there is this profound food crisis, how can prices be released now? How is the market going to be filled, if state enterprises have not received an order, if material and technical supplies and contractual relations are disrupted, if enterprise is not developed in the production sphere?

[Izgarshev] There are just as many tricky questions that concern people in connection with the privatization of housing and trade and consumer institutions.

[Rutskoy] I am in favor of privatization. But again, it must be carefully considered. So that rogues and black marketeers do not get hold of the property. The people will be right to get indignant if, for instance, stores are auctioned off without asking the labor collectives. Who will buy them? How did they make the money? I have been around for 44 years, I spent 25 of those years flying, but I have not earned enough money to buy a store, or even a little kiosk. The deputy commander of the 40th

Army air force got R560. Yet there are young people aged about 30, and they are buying themselves three-room apartments for 9 million. I do not understand it. Although there should be auctions, if someone has managed to make some money somehow, let him spend it. Let us not go in for settling scores. Maybe he was smarter, he earned it. But we must not forget those who hammer away honestly at their job for 40 or 50 years.

[Izgarshev] Living from one wage packet to the next.

[Rutskoy] We must not forget the students and pensioners. I am saying all this for one reason. I want people to understand me. Because for some reason the leading figures prefer to keep quiet and think they are doing the right thing. And of course they will not like it when the vice president gets indignant about ill-considered reforms.

Yesterday I was even asked: Whose vice president are you? My answer is this: I will not be anyone's vice president. I am vice president of the Russian Federation. And I am for the market, for reforms, but for reforms that are clearly and precisely defined, that meet our people's interests.

[Izgarshev] And those who formulate and implement the reforms should be accountable.

[Rutskoy] I am talking about the accountability of those who occupy government posts and get away with nothing but promises and philosophical discussions. Of course, you have to define things—that is your section, those are the stages you are responsible for. Then everyone will make the effort. Why? Because he will know what he is responsible for. But what happens with us? Look. The first government of the Russian Federation departed. And then it was: Well done, thank you. Although many of them should have been called to account. Now the second government has gone too, and there were people there who should have been held accountable. You can not work that way.

[Izgarshev] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, about the "little boys in pink pants."

[Rutskoy] The press really dwelled on that phrase of mine. It is true, I was talking about the accountability of officials and I said that we must all put our childhood behind us, move up to the senior grades in the science of government, and renounce unprincipledness and irresponsibility, that we should not be like little boys in pink pants. They paraphrased all that and turned it against Rutskoy. They made out that Rutskoy is an enemy of reform. No, and again no. But I have no doubt that unless we create a clear and precise program that everyone can understand, every citizen in our society, unless we define clearly who is responsible and call them to account, our reforms are not worth a dime.

[Izgarshev] What can you say about your relationship with the president? How is it developing since your critical remarks? Like it or not, he heads the government.

[Rutskoy] I can only talk about my own attitude to the president. I have gotten to know Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin well. He is a firm person. And blunt. If he says something, he will do it. And it is good that he is that kind of man. I am sure that he too is not indifferent to what I am talking about, to the way the people of Russia live now. And I regard his policy as my policy. Here we do not and cannot have two different views. If I criticize something, I have only one concern—that our reforms should not fail. That the democratic movement should gain strength, that it should not die. I demand carefully considered action, so that the people know what we are doing and what we are doing it for.

[Izgarshev] Does the party you helped to found support you?

[Rutskoy] The party has come out in support of Yeltsin's radical reforms. Our people's party is the biggest in the Russian Federation, and I can tell you that in the party there have been no attacks on the president. Now people are trying to cause a quarrel between the vice president and the president. For what purpose? Who needs it? Who gains? Only those who do not like our course. In the election campaign, I and my team visited 14 oblasts in 11 days, and on each day we had five or six meetings with people to explain B.N. Yeltsin's course. So are we supposed to be disassociating ourselves from him now? Are we supposed to be becoming enemies, instead of getting on with our work smoothly? You have known me a long time. Yes, I can be tough, maybe even rude, to some extent. But I am used to telling people the truth to their face, I am no good at whispering in corners and playing palace corridor games. That is not my scene. I know what the president thinks and how he acts. The vice president carries out the president's instructions. That's fine by me. But today it is not the kind of situation where you can sit and wait for instructions. I like to work. To work together, in harmony. Maybe I will do this and you will do that, but we will all be acting in harmony for the sake of Russia's rebirth.

[Izgarshev] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, you may have noticed that many military airmen now hold high state posts in many republics. Is this a fashion, or what?

[Rutskoy] I do not think so. It is just that an airman is a member of a profession in which a man has to think first, and then act. And when he acts, he takes the only correct and reasonable step. Otherwise you end up with a mouth full of dirt...

You know, I served in many garrisons that people called the back of beyond. I may be wrong to get indignant about various blunders and shortcomings, but I think the same way people in those garrisons and military camps think. Some comrades are trying to persuade me that it is somehow inappropriate for the vice president to think the same way as the people in waiting lines. But I believe that if the leaders think in exactly the same way as those people waiting in lines...

[Izgarshev] And our whole country is waiting in lines...

[Rutskoy] Then there will be order, and no lines. That is the point...

Rutskoy: Yeltsin 'Oversensitive' to Criticism

OW2712185191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1746 GMT 27 Dec 91

[From "Bulletin 3"—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy believes Boris Yeltsin is "oversensitive" to criticism of the government program of economic reforms. In his interview for IF [INTERFAX] Mr. Rutskoy said that his critical remarks on the matter had negatively affected his relationships with the president. At the same time, he denied being in opposition to Mr. Yeltsin, since he would like "the people who elected both of us to believe us."

Mr. Rutskoy observed that the Russian Cabinet's program "has little to do with reality and can lead to an outburst of social tension," since the subsistence level, according to the economists, may exceed 1,000 rubles after prices are freed.

The reform was being prepared by a narrow group of people unwilling to consult parliament or other specialists, Rutskoy said and added that he still firmly believed that shifting priorities and liberalizing prices instead of seeing through comprehensive land, tax and financial reforms might be disastrous for the nation. "I hope common sense will prevail in the end," the vice-president summed up.

Rutskoy Criticizes Yeltsin in Interview

LD3112092391 Berlin ADN in German 0752 GMT 31 Dec 91

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—Boris Yeltsin's deputy, Aleksandr Rutskoy, criticizes the president in unusually harsh terms in an interview carried in this Thursday's [2 January] Hamburg magazine STERN. In Russia "the most objectionable form of dictatorship—the dictatorship of the street," rules, and Yeltsin is helpless in the face of it, according to Rutskoy. "The president issues decrees, but no one carries them out. Decisions are made which do not make sense," the vice president says. "No one is taking responsibility, not even Yeltsin," for the current chaos in the country. "We have power stations that can function for only another five days, as oil reserves will last no longer. That does not seem to worry anyone. I am not aware that the president is talking to anyone about this."

As with previous governments, no one is being called to account for the mess: "The worker who steals a couple of planks of wood gets six years in prison, but a minister can steal millions, and at the worst he will be demoted to trade attache at an embassy." Under these conditions a social explosion threatens, according to the chairman of the "People's Party of Free Russia. "The people's confidence is waning day by day. This cannot go on for much longer... And so, just as the Soviet Union has fallen apart, so will Russia."

Yeltsin, Vice President Rutskoy Meet 28 Dec

LD2912203191 Moscow TASS in English 2002 GMT 28 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin had a meeting today with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, the Russian TV news programme Vesti reported on Saturday [28 December] night. Vesti said with reference to sources close to the vice president, that at that meeting "Yeltsin and Rutskoy settled considerable differences and removed obstacles that hampered their normal joint work."

The vice president has strongly criticised of late in his interviews and public statements the programme of radical economic reforms put forward by the Russian Government. He used very strong words criticising the liberalisation of prices, which will begin in Russia on January 2, 1992. At the same time, Rutskoy stressed in every way his loyalty to Yeltsin. Nevertheless, his statements gave grounds for rumors and speculations about his possible resignation.

According to Vesti, staff members of the Russian president and vice president are moving to the Kremlin in the coming days, where the official residences of Boris Yeltsin and Aleksandr Rutskoy will be located.

Differences 'Settled'

LD2912205591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] First official reports. A meeting took place today between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. Sources close to the vice president have revealed that at the meeting differences were settled and obstacles that hampered normal joint work were removed. Incidentally, staff members of the Russian president and the vice president are to move to the Kremlin in the coming days, where the official residences of Boris Yeltsin and Aleksandr Rutskoy will be located.

Moscow TV Interviews Vice President Rutskoy

LD3012225291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1345 GMT on 30 December, in its "Television Acquaintance" series, broadcasts a 60-minute conversation between Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and correspondent Urmas Ott. The video shows the two men seated in an office in the Russian White House.

Ott begins by asking Rutskoy how his pay as vice president compares with that of corresponding statesmen in the West and about his experience of the West. Rutskoy briefly describes his visits to Germany and France. Then follows a series of exchanges on the subject of prices, in which Rutskoy deplores the speculation element now so rife. Ott asks how, as a military man, he has managed to "reeducate himself" in economic and social issues in order to discharge his responsibilities as vice president. Rutskoy reminds Ott that the military life provides an all-round education, and in addition an element of discipline. He then goes into some detail about his training as an aviation engineer.

Ott remarks: "You know, I too did my army service, but I would say you and I probably served in different armies, because I unfortunately have not seen the things that you saw, just as unfortunately I have not seen the kind of army shown now every Sunday on television in the 'I Serve the Soviet Union' program. It was a quite different army ..."

Rutskoy interrupts him to say: "I call that program 'A Visit to Fairyland'."

"So even you think so?," asks Ott.

Rutskoy replies: "Yes, what should be shown objectively are the things that are painful for the army. It should not all be touched up, to make out that everything is wonderful, when people realize it's not like that. Just look, the armed forces are contending with dreadful conditions now. The figures for the first month of 1991 gave 292,000 officers without an apartment—each of them with a wife and one or two children, so we have to multiply the figure by three and we get almost a million people—while the figure now stands at 376,000 officers without an apartment. And then one still has to add in those from the groups of troops in Germany, Poland, the Baltic states! Just figure it out."

He goes on to recall how much he earned as a deputy commander of the 40th Army, to compare this with levels of pay now and from this to lament the current misunderstanding of economic processes, as pay raises chase price raises. He goes on: "All we talk about is 'the market, the market, the market'. But the market has to be arrived at through a system of some kind. Gorbachev spent all his time mouthing 'perestroyka, perestroyka, perestroyka', but everything collapsed—the economy, the financial system, the sociopolitical sphere, not to mention the political situation ..."

Ott interrupts him to ask: "So you believe Gorbachev is to blame?"

Rutskoy replies: "You know, it is not so much that Gorbachev is to blame; rather it is that the concept was not properly worked out. The concept of perestroyka was not worked out. In other words, there was no plan for perestroyka." He goes on to expound the need for things to be spelled out in an organized way, for people to know what their targets are and who is responsible, if a process is to be manageable; and to add that the change to the market cannot be made overnight. He continues: "Is it possible now to, as it were, break all the links—the systems of planning of material-techical supply, of financing, and to say that enterprises should in this way survive and make the transition to the market, and that freeing of prices will help this? No, this will be chaos! But if there were a system it would be possible to let the process go gradually and to regulate it."

After some brief remarks about how the production sector might be affected Rutskoy refers to something he read in PRAVDA. This prompts Ott to interrupt and divert the conversation into a series of exchanges on Rutskoy's attitude to PRAVDA.

Ott then asks: "Some of your opponents think that Yeltsin needed Rutskoy—you'll forgive me such a question—because he needed the servicemen's vote and the support of the army."

Rutskoy replies: "You know, I'll tell you this. The army vote is not a very great percentage; it totalled only about 4 million at that stage. And in fact, 4 million votes did not affect the outcome of the election."

Ott asks: "Has Yeltsin changed since he became president of Russia?"

Rutskoy replies: "He hasn't, you know. He's just the same as ever."

Ott asks: "And what is he like?"

Rutskoy replies: "Well, pretty tough, a pretty tough man, conscientious—that's one quality you can't deny him—exacting. I would like to see these qualities further honed, all the more so today, because one must not jest with society and play at democracy. Democracy must be democracy. But externally, he's a very likeable chap, lively and energetic. He has quite a few positive qualities."

Ott then asks: "Have you changed, Mr. Rutskoy, since you suddenly and unexpectedly became vice president of Russia?

Rutskoy replies: "Well, you know, you can ask that of my friends and comrades with whom I started here in this house as a People's Deputy. I think, perhaps—I don't want to make a mistake, but I don't think I have changed at all. I am just the same as I used to be. I am experiencing many difficulties in my life, so to speak, because of my frankness, my frankness and my way of saying what I think. I can tell you that at this time, in particular, one can have problems when one strives to express his position, well understanding that this is necessary. And why? You know, I'm grateful to my grandfather and father, who brought me up—they are dead now, but I had two brothers, and the three of us were brought up very strictly."

Rutskoy goes on to joke that he got a weekly thrashing as a matter of course, but that he is grateful for the solid and

honest upbringing he had. He talks about his own sons and their careers, noting that one is at the Suvorov Academy, in which Rutskoy has a special interest.

Ott then goes on to ask personal questions about Rutskoy's first meeting with his wife and their domestic squabbles.

Rutskoy then goes on to talk about his spare-time interests: he loves birds and animals, he keeps a dog and has some fish in an aquarium; he loves to go to the bird market and to talk to ordinary people. He understands their needs and feelings, he says.

Ott then asks the following question: "In principle, are you now aware of what is going on in the Matrosskaya Tishina prison in Moscow?"

Rutskoy replies: "To be honest, I have information only from the mass information media. True, I did meet with the prosecutor recently. I spoke to him. The investigation is proceeding and you know I am a supporter—it is my position—that I try not to touch on any problems in that area until the investigation is completed and until the trial has taken place. Why? Because it is up to the court and it is up to the investigation to do that. Later one can give one's assessment."

Ott asks: "President Gorbachev recently published his book, his memoires, about the putsch—70 pages long. If you were to start doing the same kind of thing, how many pages could you fill with your own memoires, Rutskoy's memoires?"

Rutskoy replies: "For some reason or other it has become fashionable to write books. I would not want to write books yet—you can write books during your well-deserved retirement. What one has to do now is work, you understand. What in fact do these books provide? Enough has been said in the mass media about this. But if I were to write—I do of course keep a diary, to be quite frank. I started to keep it after I went into hospital in Afghanistan in 1986 when I was shot down. I ejected late because I had to reach my own people. Well, I started to keep a diary and I keep it today. And I will tell you, it does not contain 70 pages; it contains more, you understand."

Rutskoy goes on to say how he would depict the character of the people, the feelings of the people.

Asked when he finally became disillusioned with communism, Rutskoy explains: "I became convinced that in our life a person was not even constitutionally protected, let alone there being any kind of social protection or social policy. That was all nonsense. All the time people were being deceived. Here I agree with Zhirinovskiy."

Rutskoy expresses the view that people should feel themselves to be individuals in society, no matter who they are. He continues: "I began to wonder what kind of a party of the people this was that was not protecting its own people but, on the contrary, was deceiving it. And, you know, I was a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party [RCP]. On a couple of occasions at the Central Committee I expressed my thoughts on the activity of the RCP in quite a tough manner, as they say—I am quite good at doing this. And I was expelled from the party."

In his view, the RCP collapsed "not because the communists were no good, but because the very system of management and leadership was so corrupt."

Ott then asks about Rutskoy's experiences in Afghanistan. Rutskoy speaks of the bloodshed he witnessed and the death of his comrades and adds: "It was terrible, and what is happening now with regard to South Ossetia is nothing other than fascism, do you understand, fascism of the highest order. And this is a living example of what nationalism can lead to. This is what it can lead to. Both the fourth [party] congress and the fifth congress adopted a decision on South Ossetia, but people have died and are continuing to die. And why? There is one reason and that is irresponsibility, irresponsibiliy, you understand, and unruliness". He blames Georgia for the killing in South Ossetia.

Returning to Rutskoy's experiences in Afghanistan, Ott asks what he felt when his plane was hit by a Stinger missile during combat. Rutskoy describes this incident in considerable detail and at considerable length. He then describes how he broke his back and was told he would never walk again, but was subsequently brought back to health and even able to fly again. He pays tribute to the skill of military doctors. He describes the second time he was shot down, this time on enemy territory and captured. Asked about the offer made to him to go to Canada, Rutskoy replies that a person's homeland is his homeland, no matter how bad life may be there, and that it is wrong to pour dirt on one's homeland.

Rutskoy continues his reminiscences of his time as a prisoner in Afghanistan, noting how such experiences help to form one's character. Ott then asks: "Mr. Rutskoy, it is said that the Soviet Union paid a ransom of a million dollars to buy you out of captivity."

Rutskoy replies: "No, not at all. That is stupid, you know, a stupidity of the first order." He then recalls more details of how his aircraft was shot down.

Ott then asks: "Though you returned as a hero from that war, do you now feel deceived by that war?"

Rutskoy replies: "You know it is very painful for me when I hear bald criticism of the Afghan war. Officers and soldiers are not to blame for that war. When we went off to serve in the armed forces—and you too have served in the armed forces—we gave our oath. It was the politicians who were to blame. And to try to bring those who fought there to account is simply wrong-headed. Just the same as, you will recall, the attempts to bring those Americans who fought in Vietnam to account. I have very close contacts with them, with those who took part in the war in Vietnam. I have had two meetings with them. And quite frankly those boys should not be

insulted today, those who died there should not be insulted, or those who came back as invalids. But I have already said...[changes thought] Here I am, a politician, one of the leaders of a great state—Russia. And I feel a sense of guilt. And so I am preparing now...I have already had meetings with a number of politicians from Iran and Pakistan, and I intend to meet some from Saudi Arabia to somehow help to resolve this problem, to put an end to the war and the bloodshed."

Ott then asks: "Incidentally, someone told me in America on one occasion that for a long time President Bush was unable to rid himself of the complex... of the 'vice president syndrome', because he had spent all his time at the side of Mr. Ronald Reagan who was president, and that it took years before he could begin to feel that he was really president of the United States and before Americans began to perceive him as president. Do you feel that you now have a 'vice-president' complex of some sort?"

Rutskoy replies: "Well, actually, there is a block of committees and commissions which have been assigned to me by the president. I work with them, but they do not form part of the government. And so actually the situation we now have is that the president heads the government, there is the secretary of state who acts as his first deputy chairman of the government, and the vice president can, according to the way the decree was worded, take part in meetings of the government where he has the right to speak in an advisory capacity. But then I appealed to Sergey Shakhray and said: Listen, please remove this right to speak in an advisory capacity. I find it simply embarrassing in purely human terms. So, you see, he did me the favor of removing it. I am not eager for power. I have enough power. What I am eager for is work. And these are two quite different things. True, Boris Nikolayevich might say: Listen, look how many instructions and commitments I have given you."

Ott interrupts him to ask: "Are you on personal terms with Yeltsin?" To which Rutskoy replies: "No, I cannot be on personal terms with him. In the first place, Yeltsin is 60. He is older than me, and when all is said and done, he is president, after all. One must...[changes thought] Military men have this sense inculcated into them. If someone is older then one must observe the proper relations. To permit oneself to address the president in personal terms is simply unbecoming."

Ott turns to the current situation and asks Rutskoy: "Do you have today your own presidential program in the event circumstances make it necessary for you to become president—either tomorrow or in a year's time or in two years' time? Do you have some program for Russia? Have you thought about this?"

Rutskoy replies: "You know we have already had a very large number of programs and in fact at this stage I have never thought nor do I think about becoming president because we have a president and it is not fitting, to say the least, to talk about this today. But I do have my own visions on a number of answers to problems and questions, you understand.

"Perhaps the president does not like them but I believe that they are acceptable today, and it might be a fault of mine but I am a man who loves discipline, I love order, I love respect for one another, I love there to be a degree of responsibility, of duty owed, you understand: I mean to say that if a person lives in society he has to answer to society. One cannot live in chaos. Perhaps that is why they are not all that fond of me. Perhaps that is why they consider me to be a kind of conservative—some even stick labels on me that simultaneously insult Pinochet, the leader of Chile. And in some newspapers they even write that I am a future leader of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. This is simply out of order, you know, in the first place, and second it is so drab—there is no such thing as society without discipline, you know.

"Let us look at what democracy is. It comes from the Latin. The power of the people. What can power be based on? Either on the gun or on the law, isn't that right? Since we use the word democracy it cannot in any way be based on the gun. So it has to be based on the law. And since it is based on the law, let us carry out the laws."

Ott says: "Mr. Rutskoy, it cannot be ruled out that in our interview today we have caught you at the very peak of your political career."

Rutskoy replies: "You know, I'll tell you, they also write today that Rutskoy is acting in that way in order to earn for himself, he is trying to earn for himself political capital. In all conscience that is not the case. I have no intention of earning myself political capital. I want to be understood. To be understood. That the state has to be governed. And one simply cannot politicize the situation any further. Excessive politicization might quite simply make the whole situation explode. One can endure anything—crisis, inflation, but one cannot survive a social explosion, because a social explosion leads to heavy consequences and blood, blood for which a price has to be paid. But in our country that is not the custom. In our society they kill a man and they consider that that's how it should be. They kill hundreds of people and they consider that that's how things should be. That is wrong. The economy is brought to a state of collapse and everyone considers that this is the transition to the market. It is not the transition to the market. One has to feel one's path in life, one has not always to be striving upwards, one has not to harbor illusions."

Ott then says: "That won't produce anything."

Rutskoy replies: "That won't produce anything? Why? Well what will it lead to? Those who stood outside the House and defended the House could come to that House for other purposes. That is what is so dreadful."

Ott then turns to lighter matters to ask: "What books do you like to read? What fiction do you like to read before you go to sleep?"

Rutskoy replies: "Our life is so busy today, you know, with newspapers and magazines. Would that I had the chance if only to leaf through something, although my press secretary helps me in that direction. However I am currently reading Pisemskiy—for the third time. I prefer literature that makes you think and analyze. I read books in my own way, perhaps: I read a page and then, you know, I go off into the life of that page, so to speak, and I start to wonder why it is as it is. I am very fond of Dostoyevskiy. I love Gogol. Nikolay Vasilyevich Gogol is my favorite, if only because of the topicality of his words: Russia has two misfortunes—its roads and its fools."

Ott says in conclusion: "It has been very interesting for me to get to know you, because before we met today I knew you as a television acquaintance and now I know you as a real person. Thank you."

Yeltsin Issues Price Liberalization Decree

PM3012145791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

["Decree of the RSFSR President 'On Measures To Liberalize Prices'"; dated 3 December 1991, the Kremlin, Moscow, and signed by RSFSR President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] In accordance with the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies' 1 November 1991 resolution "On the Socioeconomic Situation in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]," I rule that:

1. A switch to mainly free (market) prices and rates, to be established under the influence of supply and demand, for industrial engineering products, consumer goods, work, and services is to take place 2 January 1992.

State purchases of agricultural products will also be made at free (market) prices.

2. From 2 January 1992 enterprises and organizations, irrespective of forms of ownership, are to use state-regulated prices (rates) only for a limited range of industrial engineering products and basic consumer goods and services listed in Appendixes 1 and 2.

3. The RSFSR Government is to:

determine the maximum level of prices and rates for types of industrial engineering products and basic consumer goods and services specified in Appendixes 1 and 2 to the present decree and the procedure for their regulation;

as necessary, change the list of industrial engineering products, consumer goods, and services to be sold at state-regulated prices and rates, and also the proportion of the products to be relased for free sale;

bring into effect in 1992 a procedure for regulating the prices of monopoly enterprises' products;

carry out in 1992, in collaboration with the sovereign states that are former Union republics, a switch to payments for an agreed interstate list of supplies of goods and products, as a rule, at world prices.

4. The RSFSR Ministry of Economics and Finance is to draw up regulations on the procedure for employing free (market) prices for industrial engineering products, consumer goods, work, and services and also, in the light of antimonopoly legislation, a procedure for applying economic sanctions for the violation of state discipline in relation to prices, and to provide interested organizations and enterprises with these.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 3 December 1991

Yeltsin Signs Decree on Commonwealth Exports

PM3112144091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

["Decree of the President of the Russian Federation on Certain Measures of State Regulation of Deliveries of Specific Types of Output and Goods Outside the Russian Federation to States Belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States," dated 27 December 1991, the Kremlin, Moscow, and signed by B. Yeltsin]

[Text] It is laid down that enterprises and organizations, irrespective of forms of ownership, sited on the territory of the Russian Federation, on the basis of submissions from organs monitoring the export of goods subject to licensing, are subject to the imposition by local financial or taxation organs without higher authorization [v bezaktseptnom poryadke] of a fine of 10 times the value of the products or goods exported by the enterprises or organizations without licenses from the Russian Federation to other states belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States. The amounts of the fines are to be paid as follows: 90 percent into the republic budget of the Russian Federation, and 10 percent into the accounts of the bodies uncovering the infringement.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation

[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 27 December 1991

Further on Gaydar Remarks on Privatization

LD3012142491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1136 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Andrey Chekalov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Dec (TASS)—The current situation in Russia on the eve of the beginning of deep economic reforms "does not give any ground" for the government "to expect the possibility of a large-scale social explosion

in connection with the deregulation of prices," Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar told journalists today. He particpated in a news conference devoted to the endorsement of the privatization program for state and municipal enterprises in the Russian Federation in 1992 by the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Russian president.

"Leading sociologists say society is ready for such a development of events and will mostly likely accept this as an inevitability", he continued. "Of course, people never welcome everything relating to a sharp increase in the level of prices. Yet they understand that easy and pleasant measures are not appropriate for these times."

Vladimir Shumeyko, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, answering journalists' questions, added that the privatization program is "one of the most serious methods to bring down the level of social tension in the country".

"The implementation of the privatization program", he continued, "is one approach to social protection in our conditions." He said that besides bringing large-scale advantages for working people, privatization's implementation will become a factor "which will bring down the inevitable increase in deregulated prices." Besides this, according to him, the money obtained from privatization will become the "key source" of money for social protection and ecological safety.

Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the Russian state committee for the management of state property, said the privatization program includes more than the gratuitous privatization of property by working collectives. "Together with bonuses we have planned serious measures to strengthen the commercial part of privatization. All the property which is not connected with bonuses will be sold on an auctional, commercial, and contestual basis," he noted, having revealed that the total revenue from privatization in 1992 is expected to total more 90 billion rubles.

Anatoliy Chubays spoke in favor of a "radical speeding up" of privatization beginning "literally" on 2 January. The privatization program, he said, has been oriented to attract 20-25 percent of state property in Russia for privatization.

Comparison of Government Price Liberalization

CM3012192191

Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian on 25 December carries in its First Edition on page 3 a report on "RSFSR Government Resolution No. 55 'On Measures for the Liberation of Prices'," dated 19 December 1991 in Moscow and signed by G. Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Government. The ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA item has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Service Russian version published in the 24 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 51, revealing the following variation:

Fourth entry on "Freight transport rates and services:" should be accompanied by the figure "5" under the column headed "Maximum coefficients without value-added tax for effective prices of industry and rates".

Firms To Keep 50% of Hard-Currency Profits

OW2612193091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1521 GMT 26 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Starting from January 1, 1992, the Russian government intends to set up the republican hard currency reserve formed of compulsory sales of 40 percent of hard currency profits of enterprises, organizations and individuals at the special commercial rate.

A draft resolution of the Russian government allows them to transfer up to 2 percent of hard currency profits to hard currency reserves of republics and regions of Russia.

Also, from January 1, 1992, all enterprises will be obliged to sell lO percent of their hard currency profits to the Russian Central Bank at the market rate.

The remaining 50 percent can be used by enterprises on their own.

The draft resolution also envisages the introduction of special commercial rate linked to the market one.

Yeltsin Remarks at State Prize Ceremony

LD2912161291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1044 GMT 29 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Olga Svistunova and Igor Veksler]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Dec (TASS)—"I am happy to fulfill this honored mission at a time when our Russia has become free and the Russian flag is flying over the UN building," Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin stated today at a solemn ceremony to present the 1991 state prizes of the Russian Federation in the fields of literature and the arts. Creators of works in the fields of literature, architecture, painting, music, theater, folklore, and works for children and young people were awarded state prizes.

Having cordially congratulated the prizewinners, the president expressed some thoughts on today's political and economic situation in society. "Russia and the Russians are having a hard time now," he said. "It will still be very difficult in the coming year, 1992. But we could not have acted differently since we could see that we had reached a deadlock. We should now pursue reforms bravely and decisively." According to Boris

Yeltsin, the most difficult time will be the first six to eight months and then relief will come.

The president stressed that a historical and cultural revival has begun in Russia. "The individual," he said, "has become free and can prove himself in all spheres." Boris Yeltsin promised the creative intelligentsia that he would aid culture in spite of all the difficulties and that in the second half of next year would "begin active infusions into it."

Yevgeniy Yevtushenko congratulated the prizewinners on behalf of the creative intelligentsia.

Further on Remarks

LD2912134991 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 29 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Olga Svistunova and Igor Veksler]

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—After the presentation of Russia's state prizes on Sunday [29 December], TASS correspondents asked Boris Yeltsin about the destiny of the cultural heritage of the former Union. The president said that the heads of independent states of the community instructed Nikolay Gubenko to prepare proposals on this theme for the Minsk meeting.

A council of ministers of culture of independent (?states) has operated of late. "We have many common cultural amenities," Yeltsin said. "Not Russia alone (?claims) the Hermitage or the Lenin Library." Yeltsin believes citizens of all republics of the former Union should have access to these cultural values. The president believes there should be some coordinating centre, but it should have minimum staff.

It is known, however, that the given cultural legacy [words indistinct] other such facilities were placed under the jurisdiction of the Russian president and the Russian Government.

Yeltsin Appoints Local, Government Officials

PM3012150391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under general headline: "Appointments"]

[Text] By decree of the RSFSR president, Vladimir Fedorovich Komchatov has been appointed the RSFSR president's representative in Moscow, Vladimir Aleksandrovich Barabanov has been appointed acting head of the Bryansk Oblast Administration, and Valeriy Petrovich Arbuzov has been appointed head of the Kostroma Oblast Administration.

By decree of RSFSR President B. Yeltsin, Aleksey Leonardovich Golovkov has been appointed head of the RSFSR Government apparatus.

Yeltsin Prioritizes Fuel for Power Stations

LD2912132791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin sent a telegram to heads of administrations and governments in republics, krays, and oblasts; labor collectives of enterprises in the coal, gas, and oil-refining industries; and railway transport units of Russia. The president committed the managers of these enterprises to ship fuel for electric power stations first and foremost. It is the duty of the heads of railway departments to ensure the transportation of the fuel in the shortest possible time.

Supreme Soviet Issues Human Rights Declaration

PM3012144591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

["RSFSR Supreme Soviet Resolution 'On the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights and Freedoms'"; dated 22 November 1991, RSFSR House of Soviets, Moscow, and signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Having examined the draft Declaration of Human and Civil Rights and Freedoms submitted by the RSFSR president, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet rules that:

1. The Declaration of Human and Civil Rights and Freedoms is to be adopted.

2. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Human Rights Committee, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legality, Law and Order, and Combating Crime are to prepare proposals on bringing RSFSR legislation in line with the provisions of the present declaration and submit them for the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's consideration.

3. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is to:

include the laws planned for elaboration in the schedule of drafting work;

instruct the relevant commissions and committees of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chambers to prepare the aforementioned draft laws.

R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

RSFSR House of Soviets, Moscow, 22 November 1991

Decree on State TV's Commonwealth Coverage

LD2712182191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 27 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree on the transformation of the All-Union State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company,

Gosteleradio, into the Russian State Television and Radio Company, Ostankino. A TASS correspondent learned today that the decree prescribes that it is also to cover the economic, political and cultural life of the former Soviet republics, now countries of the Commonwealth.

Yegor Yakovlev is head of the company.

Commission Chairman on Problems of Statehood

LD2712215791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1834 GMT 27 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Ludmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Dec (TASS)—Oleg Rumyantsev, chairman of the Constitutional Commission of the Russian Supreme Soviet, spoke at a news conference in the Moscow House of Journalists on complex problems of Russian statehood connected with the disintegration of the USSR and centrifugal tendencies in the Russian Federation.

He expressed his full agreement with the demands of members of the Constitutional Court that a new constitution should be adopted in Russia as soon as possible. He said that to achieve this there are plans to convene a congress of people's deputies in April next year. Having expressed his regret that the USSR never became a confederation, Oleg Rumyantsev, one of the authors of the declaration of state sovereignty said: "We imagine the Russian Federation as a sovereign state within a confederation." What would have been ideal, in his opinion, is for "Russia to be a confederation within a confederation of the Union." But that was thwarted by the August putsch. He sees the task of young politicians in that "they should work toward turning the Commonwealth into a confederation from below".

Speaking on the Commonwealth of Independent States, Oleg Rumyantsev expressed his apprehensions about the fact that "the situation is increasingly becoming such that Ukraine has to have the last say" since it is effectively embarking upon the path of thwarting the agreements," he warned, having stressed the need to create coordinating bodies in the Commonwealth and some sort of statute for it. If that does not happen, a trade and "ruble" war may break out, above all, between Russia and Ukraine.

Speaking on Russian statehood, the Constitutional Commission chairman stressed that the main task is now delimitation of powers between the federal authorities and members of the Federation—republics, krays, and oblasts.

A special working group he is heading is now engaged in drafting such a document. In his opinion, the Russian Federation must still be responsible for "about 10 strategic spheres of authority," such as a two-tiered taxation system, printing of money, and so on. After a law on delimitation of powers, which will be written into the Constitution, is adopted, the Russian Federation will be able to conclude additional separate treaties with former autonomous republics. If there is no delimitation of powers, then, according to Oleg Rumyantsev, "there will be a republic of Sakhalin and a republic of Yenisey."

Oleg Rumyantsev expressed the view that the Russian Supreme Soviet "has made a serious mistake," having ratified the treaty with Estonia, where "a real apartheid policy is being conducted" with regard to the Russian-speaking population. "We find it very alarming that there are incidents of violation of human rights in Estonia and Latvia," he said.

In the opinion of Oleg Rumyantsev, who cochairs the Social Democratic Party of Russia, President Boris Yeltsin "is not relying on the support of any parties but of his apparatus." In reply to the question by a TASS correspondent on the latest speeches by Aleksandr Rutskoy, he said that he shares "the anxiety of the vice president about the fact that he has found himself excluded from the decision-making process." This, in his view, "is a serious political mistake and miscalculation on the part of Boris Yeltsin, who "has not managed to keep his entourage in line." Aleksandr Rutskoy is a major figure and by trying to oust him we are pushing him toward becoming the leader of the opposition, Oleg Rumyantsev added.

Regional Affairs

Khasbulatov on Presidential Rule in Moscow

PM2712162791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 91 p 1

[S. Belyayeva report: "R. Khasbulatov: Deputies Take Note"]

[Text] R.I. Khasbulatov met residents of Medvedkovo in the capital's "Ladoga" movie theater 25 December. Here are some answers he gave to the audience's questions.

On Moscow's food supply. If the Moscow City Soviet and City Hall do not find a common language in the near future and do not change the food situation, Yeltsin's presidential rule will be imposed in Moscow and deputies at all levels (numbering 4,500 in Moscow) will be dismissed.

On the sabotaging of laws by officials: A law is being prepared on the criminal liability of officials of all ranks for failure to execute Russian Federation laws, Russian Federation Supreme Soviet resolutions, and Congress of People's Deputies decisions.

'Angry Crowds' Block St. Petersburg Street

LD2712233891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 27 Dec 91

[Text] Traffic is said to have come to a standstill for an hour and a half in St. Petersburg's central street, the

Nevskiy Avenue, after angry crowds blocked it demanding foodshops to be replenished to help them use their food coupons. There was a spontaneous rally after one of the shops ran out of food and a large crowd formed when angry customers went outside. Special police units were moved in, but there were no clashes.

Tatarstan Announces Joining Commonwealth

LD2812202491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 91

[Text] A declaration on the Republic of Tatarstan joining the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] was announced today. Proceeding from the need to seek ways out of the political and economic crisis that has been provoked by the disintegration of the USSR, the documents says, the Supreme Soviet states that the Republic of Tatarstan is joining the CIS with founder-member status.

Creation of Chechen Cabinet Planned for Jan

LD3012185291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] The main bodies of executive authority in the Chechen Republic, the Cabinet of Ministers, will evidently be formed as early as January. By special decree, Dzhakhar Dudayev has set up a state examination commission with the aim, the document says, of selecting worthy and competent individuals for leading posts. The commission, which is bound to submit proposals on candidacies for the Cabinet of Ministers by 15 January, has been set up under the State Secretary of the Chechen Republic, but the president has retained for himself the monitoring of the decree's fulfilment. From now on, all appointments, including leaders of enterprises and organizations, may take place only with the president's assent.

The new presidential decrees are reminiscent of the memorable days when even the director of a tiny poultry farm lost in the hills was appointed only with the highest blessing of the bureau of the CPSU oblast committee, but nevertheless succeeded in destroying the farm within a few months for which he was expelled by the same bureau. Only time will tell whether the president will be more wise in his personnel policy, the TASS correspondent concludes.

Checheno-Ingushetia Denies Sending Troops

LD3112090491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0122 GMT 31 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 31 Dec (TASS)—Checheno-Ingushetia has not sent fighters to support Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, according to Yusup Soslanbekov, a member of the Chechen-Ingush parliament. He said a Checheno-Ingush parliamentary delegation left for Tbilisi on a purely peacemaking mission. Several national guardsmen accompanying it are there only to protect a special helicopter. But on arriving in the Georgian capital even they handed in their weapons to airport security for safe-keeping . On 29 December, all 14 of these automatic weapons were sent to Groznyy on a special flight by the Georgian side.

Yusup Soslanbekov leads the parliamentary commission for foreign affairs and is also a leader of the Confederation of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus. Denying rumors about the involvement of Chechens in Georgian events, he stressed his adherence to peaceful means of solving all the problems of the Caucasian peoples.

Unloading Nuclear Fuel in Murmansk Banned

LD2712161291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Report by correspondent Yuriy Arkhipov]

[Text] A resolution suspending work on the removal of nuclear fuel from the reactors of vessels that have been decommissioned has been signed in Murmansk by Yegeniy Komarov, head of the administration. Our correspondent Yuriy Arkhipov reports:

[Arkhipov] The resolution that has been signed resulted from a week-long fight by a group of deputies of the Murmansk oblast soviet, the public, and the Green Party, to put a stop to dangerous work in part of the town to use scrap from atomic submarines and unload nuclear fuel from the reactors. For several days, Murmansk residents have been staging protests at the entrance to the naval repair base where this work was to have begun. To be honest, they had no hopes that the voice of the people would be heard high up, and so the stand adopted in resolving this issue by the head of the administration evokes respect for him.

These instructions come as the first major victory for the ecologists over the military department. The command of the Red Banner Northern Fleet and the administration of the Murmansk shipping line will be obliged to present proposals for additional measures which will ensure nuclear safety when atomic submarines and ships with nuclear power plants are decommissioned. All work on unloading of nuclear fuel will be suspended on the territory of Murmansk oblast from 5 January 1992. These enterprises and the standing commission of soviets of people's deputies will very soon have to elaborate and introduce safe technology for the conduct of this work.

The oblast Nature Conservation Committee and the terrorial bodies of the Republican Committee for Nuclear and Radiation Safety have been given the job of monitoring the implementation of the resolution. The resolution, dated 24 December, has been sent to the Command of the Red Banner Northern Fleet, but it is known from unofficial sources that the military still

plans to start unloading fuel from the reactor of an atomic submarine standing at the quayside.

May I remind you that the yards are situated in a Murmansk housing district, and although this operation has already been done more than 300 times, it is considered to be potentially dangerous.

International Affairs

Russia 'Strictly Abides By' INF Treaty

LD3012211491 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Minsk December 30 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin said U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney's words that Russia continues to produce and deploy strategic missiles directed against the United States are "a supposition, not an assertion."

The president stressed Russia is adherent to the INF Treaty and "strictly abides by it." [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 2040 GMT on 30 December carries a 75-word report on the statement by Russian President Boris Yeltsin responding to remarks made by Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney. This version renders the preceeding phrase as follows: ...adherent to the START Treaty [dogovor po SNV] and "strictly abides..."] Yeltsin underlined by 1994 Ukraine and Belarus "with the help of Russia and the United States will completely eliminate nuclear weapons on their territories."

Russia Replaces USSR at Geneva Conference

LD2812143691 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 28 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Geneva December 28 TASS—The Russian Federation replaced the former Soviet Union at the disarmament conference in Geneva on Saturday [28 December]. The delegations of the conference member-states received a corresponding note from the Russian Foreign Ministry. The move was agreed on by the new Commonwealth of Independent States at a meeting in Alma-Ata.

The disarmament conference, a successor to the disarmament committee, was created in December 1961 by the U.N. General Assembly. The conference worked out such important disarmament agreements as the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, a convention banning bacteriological weapons, and others. The conference is now engaged in drafting a convention banning the use of chemical weapons and their elimination.

Nuclear Production Cuts Pledged

OW3012170991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1516 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President and Parliament will soon take "vigorous steps toards converting and cutting the production of nuclear arms," Ruslan Kasbulatov, a Russian Parliamentary representative promised.

Commenting on the US Minister of Defence Richard Cheney's speech on 29 December, which voiced American fears concerning the continuing production and deployment of nuclear missiles, R. Kasbulatov stressed, that Russia planned to disarm and reduce the production of all types of weapons, including nuclear. "However," he added, "it is rather difficult to instantly halt any means of production, particularly such a powerful one. Autonomous methods still exist, and these take time to erradicate."

Touching upon the position of the Russian Supreme Soviet in relation to Yeltsin's order to set up a Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs, R. Kasbulatov pointed out, that he hoped to decide this matter without referring to the constitutional court. "It is not found to be the most opportune time to decide whether to set up such a ministry, and also Victor Barrinikov (head of the new ministry) believed that it did not make sense to force events," he said. The head of the Russian Parliament voiced the hope that the Russian President would reconsider his decision.

Government To Continue Membership in IAEA, UNIDO

LD2712213891 Moscow TASS in English 2026 GMT 27 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Novak]

[Text] Vienna December 27 TASS—The permanent representation of the Russian Federation to international organizations in Vienna today handed over to the leadership of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) a note of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

The note says the membership of the USSR in these organizations, all their bodies and all conventions, agreements and other international legal instruments concluded within their framework or under their aegis, will be continued by the Russian Federation.

The note stresses the Russian Federation at full measure preserves the responsibility for all the rights and obligations of the Soviet Union in the above-mentioned organizations.

Yeltsin Call For NATO Membership Viewed

PM3012113391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Golts commentary under "Observer's Opinion" rubric: "Should Russia Belong to NATO?"]

[Text] Life has once again demonstrated the truth of Palmerston's dictum that states do not have eternal allies but that they only have eternal interests. Is it that long since Moscow viewed the North Atlantic bloc as an organization that poses a threat to peace on the continent? Is it that long since we learned from reports on regular sessions of NATO organs about new concepts of confrontation and new arms systems deployed at our borders? But times are changing. And then, on the eve of the Alma-Ata meeting, a sensational announcement came from Brussels. In an appeal to the participants in the first sitting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B. Yeltsin reported on Russia's intention to become a member of the North Atlantic Treaty as a long-term foreign policy aim.

It may become clear that the Russian president is going against the grain (which has actually long been his political style). After all, our former Warsaw Pact allies have long been testing the ground as regards joining NATO. And they are receiving the following clear-cut answers: The right conditions are not yet in place. And you can understand the NATO members. Receiving a particular state into a military-political bloc means assuming responsibility also for its security. As far as the countries of central and East Europe are concerned, they are at a formative stage. Their internal political situations, and indeed their relations with their neighbors, are also likely to be unstable at times. All the aforesaid applies to Russia to an even greater extent than to Hungary or Czechoslovakia. Obviously, the Russian president, who has held talks with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker and with Italian leaders, is perfectly well aware of the West's concerns on this score.

However, in his sensational statement he also had in mind another trend. The Atlanticists are well aware that security both on the European Continent and in the world as a whole is indivisible (it is no coincidence that the Yugoslav tragedy evoked such an sharp response). And consequently there is an objective need for NATO members to have the possibility of influencing events in Central and East Europe.

Strictly speaking, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council—in whose work both the heads of NATO countries' foreign policy departments and East European countries' foreign ministers have already taken part—should, according to its organizers' intention, act as a bridge in the integration of all states on the continent. Clearly, the NATO members intend to restrict themselves to this type of activity in the near future. So it would be naive to expect an immediate positive response to Russia's proposal (let us not forget that even after Alma-Ata there is no full clarity as regards the Commonwealth of Independent States' military and political structures).

It is another matter if Russia's initiative is perceived as an invitation to an in-depth analysis of the prospects of ensuring European security. With the disappearance of ideological rivalry and military confrontation, NATO is faced with the task of transformation. The North Atlantic bloc remains the only military-political alliance on the continent. And whether it likes it or not, it bears the responsibility for peace in and around the common European home. In the face of this, the fact of its being joined by the largest state on the continent, a powerful military state (which will evidently become the USSR's successor as permanent member of the UN Security Council), is not only logical but entirely realistic.

Russian Flag Raised at UN Headquarters

LD2812070891 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 28 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations December 28 TASS—Russian tricolor flag went up outside the headquarters of the United Nations Organisation in New York on Friday. Plates bearing the name of the Russian Federation were installed in the United Nations conference halls on the same day.

These steps were taken after Russian President Boris Yeltsin pointed out in his letter to the U.N. secretary-general on December 24 that the membership of the USSR in the U.N. and in all other agencies and organisations of the U.N. system, including in the Security Council, "is continued by the Russian Federation with the support of the Commonwealth of Independent States."

This letter was officially circulated here. It points out, in part, that the Russian Federation will retain in full measure the responsibility for all rights and commitments of the USSR in accordance with the U.N. Charter, including financial obligations.

Bush Message to Yeltsin on Minsk Meeting Cited

LD2912232891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] United States President George Bush has wished success to the leaders of Commonwealth countries who are beginning a meeting in Minsk on Monday [30 December]. In a message to his Russian counterpart Boris Yeltsin, President Bush underscores the importance of the decision of the leaders of the new states adopted to help ensure international security. The Russian news agency reports the head of the U.S. Administration also expressed interest in closer ties with the leaders of Russia.

Embassy Official in U.S. Comments on Ties

LD2912233891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Boris Kalyagin] The USSR Embassy in Washington has become the Russian Embassy, but the 140 diplomats who work there are still waiting for their fate to be decided. Some of them evidently will stay to represent the interests of the Russian Federation. Some of them might be invited to transfer to the diplomatic missions of other former Soviet republics. Some, however, are going to have to seek other work.

[Begin recording A.I. Kolosovskiy, Russian representative in the United States] The main change that I expect and that I hope will be implemented is a change in substance, the orientation of the work of the embassy in such a way that we are not engaged in the legacy of global competition. This is the mission of a democratic and non-Communist Russia, which should help Russia to resolve its economic problems, integrate itself in the civilized world, and become a normal, respected country. [end recording]

[Kalyagin] The U.S. State Department also is concerned with the matter of creating new diplomatic missions. The United States intends next year to organize embassies in Kiev, Minsk, Alma-Ata, Bishkek, and Yerevan. Furthermore it would like to open consulates in Yekaterinburg and Khabarovsk. Perhaps in two or three months' time, George Bush and Boris Yeltsin will meet once again in Washington.

Commentary Views Future of U.S. Relations

LD2712182591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2210 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] According to a U.S. Administration spokesman the United States is going to announce its recognition of all the 11 former Soviet republics, now members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Diplomatic relations will now be established with the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakstan, and Kyrgyzstan. Thus, another page of history has been turned. A commonwealth of the states that will not stand in confrontation on the world arena has emerged on the site of the disintegrating Soviet Union that used to confront America for decades.

The Commonwealth wants to establish democracy, peace, and freedom of nations. The largest republic, the Russian Federation, has become the legal successor of the Soviet Union. The United States ambassador in Moscow, Robert Strauss, automatically becomes the United States ambassador to Russia. And the Soviet embassy in Washington becomes the Russian embassy. With the agreement of the UN member countries Russia will occupy the seat of the permanent member at the Security Council, and the Commonwealth states agreed at their recent summit in Alma-Ata that the nuclear launch codes will be controlled by the Russian president.

But, Russia's legal continuity is not only in this. And it is not in the fact that it pledges to honor the Soviet Union's treaties and agreements and to repay the lion's share of the foreign debt. Russia is also the legal successor of the leading force of the democratic process. The changes in this country, in Europe and the world, and the Soviet-American relations, achieved thanks to the great contribution of Mikhail Gorbachev, must now be reaffirmed and developed even further. This seems to be the task of the foreign policies carried out by the Russian leadership headed by Boris Yeltsin.

The relations between Russia and America may in the near future be further elevated. Many things point to that. What is most important is the Russian president's commitment to the search for bold and nonstandard approaches in the solution of the problems of peace and international security. He favors, for example, Russia's possible joining the NATO. He supports a new security system, extending over three parts of the world from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Boris Yeltsin supports the idea of creating the most favorable conditions for American and other western firms and companies in Russia, (?because) radical reforms serve this end.

The introduction of the market economy will not only change the Russian society. The market economy after overcoming the present difficulties, will become a favorable factor for the world development too. Russia and other Commonwealth members are to continue the Soviet Union's recent course to establish human values. And the recognition of the independence of the Commonwealth member countries by the European Community, by the United States, and other countries is a natural phenomenon.

Commentary Notes Need for U.S.-Russia Summit

LD2812112191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 27 Dec 91

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Excerpts] Addressing a news conference in Washington on Thursday [26 December], President Bush suggested meeting with the Russian president Boris Yeltsin in the near future. The following commentary was granted by Vladislav Kozyakov:

[Passage omitted] President Bush said his country recognized and welcomed the emergence of the Yeltsin-led Russia, which is free, independent, and democratic. He said he was looking forward to joint work with Yeltsin and expressed support of the Russian leader's effort in embracing democratic and market reforms in Russia.

Obviously for many reasons, this question is likely to dominate the agenda of a forthcoming summit. The

future of Russia, other Commonwealth members, and the world at large is hinged on the success of economic and democratic reform. It would not be far wrong to speak of Americans helping themselves rather than aiding Russia now that new realities have emerged. Neither Russia nor its counterparts in the new Commonwealth see America as a potential adversary. Nor do they pose any military threat to the United States. This in itself opens up the door for unprecedented armaments cuts, making the huge military machinery useless.

The United States' experts put America's military spending in the 45 years of the cold war at $12 trillion. A similar amount of defense cuts in future could turn into dividends of peace. The Center of Defense Information based in Washington says the United States can slash $100 billion in next year's defense budget without any damage to national security.

Boris Yeltsin's economic reform can help bring Russia into the fold of the world economy. Russia can open its markets for the United States exports of goods and investment, which can also help support the American economy. One American analyst even likened today's interest of United States companies in Russia and other Commonwealth states to the Californian gold rush of the time. In the newly emerging situation, a Russian-American summit is becoming of great urgency.

Khasbulatov Meets With U.S. Senator

LD3012223891 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—"One should not exaggerate" the threat to social and political stability in Russia after prices are set free on January 2, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov told visiting chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Claiborne Pell.

The Russian parliament's press centre today circulated an official report on their meeting.

At request of the senator, Khasbulatov informed him on the current political situation in the Russian Federation and the activities of the Russian parliament.

The parliament understands the crisis can be overcome only by the resolute implementation of economic reforms, Khasbulatov stressed. The Supreme Soviet holds a more radical stand on this issue than the Russian Government, which should more resolutely and professionally fulfill decisions of the parliament and Boris Yeltsin, he said.

The meeting participants also discussed the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. agreements on the limitation and reduction of arms, distribution of humanitarian aid coming into the Russian Federation, development of the Russian-U.S. interparliamentary relations, and cooperation in small businesses.

Bank Receives Hard Currency From U.S.

LD2812235491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2200 GMT 27 Dec 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast; presented by Mikhail Osokin]

[Text] The amount of money in Russia—both rubles and dollars—is steadily increasing as the year's end approaches. The printing presses are turning out more and more rubles, while dollars are being brought in from abroad. According to the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, the All-Russian Exchange Bank has received a large consignment of hard currency from U.S. banking structures for subsequent exchange for rubles. The recommended rate of exchange is 95 rubles to the dollar. The same reports say that one of the Baltic republics, thought to be Latvia, has already asked the Russian Bank to exchange 50,000 million rubles for hard currency. However, the request was turned down.

Kozyrev Comments on Japan Treaty Resolution

LD2912212891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Japanese Foreign Ministry has reacted coolly to the statement made by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on Friday that Russia will adhere to the treaties and international understandings in force between the USSR and Japan, including the 1956 joint declaration between the two countries.

In the view of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, Kozyrev said nothing about a speedy return of the islands to Japan. But, let's hear the Russian minister again. [video shows Kozyrev being interviewed by correspondent V. Vinogradov—identified by caption]

[Begin recording] [Vinogradov] There is no peace treaty between the USSR and Japan, and Russia and Japan respectively. Another big problem is linked to the signing of a peace treaty, which, incidentally, is related to the declaration on 1956; namely, the Japanese-American security treaties of 1960. What is the position of the Russian Foreign Ministry now?

[Kozyrev] You know, several things are surprising. First, the declaration signed in 1956: Its nonfulfillment is linked with events that took place four years later; that is, one has the impression that people waited for a long time for pretenses to appear in order to reject this legal document. That is the first thing.

Second, in my view, this is a pretense which merits no respect now. I am prepared to understand everything else, that, yes, we have to start up talks, we have to examine the issue, and so on. But this—I absolutely disagree with this—this means, all the same, that we will return to the thinking of the kind that NATO is an aggressive bloc. We have to take into account the fact

that the security treaties between the United States and Japan were to a large extent brought about by the aggressiveness of the Soviet regime, from which we are freeing ourselves now. [end recording]

Further on 1956 Declaration

LD2912152491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Report by presenter Anatoliy Yaroshevskiy, including recorded remarks by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, place and date not given—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A recent INTERFAX report—which you may recall—on the Soviet-Japanese agreement of 1956 gave rise to a mass of questions. In this connection Andrey Kozyrev, the foreign minister, gave an interview specially to the VESTI program.

[Kozyrev] The problem that we have inherited regarding the unresolved issue of our border with Japan is not going anywhere. It remains and is unfortunately spoiling our Christmas mood.

However, one must not forget the simple fact that diplomatic relations between the USSR—and now Russia—and Japan go back to the postwar period. They were restored precisely as a result of the conclusion of a legal document—the 1956 Declaration. If we renounce the 1956 Declaration, we are severing diplomatic relations with Japan. The declaration contains a whole number of commitments by the Soviet side, which it later departed from. Moreover, whereas the declaration was ratified by parliament and constitutes a valid international legal document, all the later renunciations, explanations, clarifications, and so on were done on a different basis. They were in the form of separate statements by individual political leaders. In effect, parliament never returned to this.

For this reason we shall, of course, have to sort out all these problems, and this is yet another illustration of the fact that we have received by no means in all areas a very fine legacy.

Group Rejects Return of Kurils

LD3112094691 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1126 GMT 29 Dec 19

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Chairman of the Far Eastern Regional Association: We will establish the Far Eastern republic if the Russian government decides on selling the Kuril Islands to Japan. These are the words Nikolay Danilyuk, chairman of the Far Eastern Association, said to a PF [POSTFACTUM] correspondent when making his comments on the statement, made December 27 by one of the leading officials of the Russian Federation's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that the Russian Federation is ready to implement the Soviet-Japanese joint declaration of October 19, 1956, saying in Paragraph 9 about the transfer of the Kuril Islands (Shikotan and the Khabomai Archipelago) to Japan. Nikolay Danilyuk also said that he intended to send a telegram to President Boris Yeltsin on December 30 to protest against the transfer of islands to Japan. According to Danilyuk, heads of the all Far Eastern territories plan to meet on January 15-16, 1992 at a regular setting of the Far Eastern Association and discuss their plan of defending the islands.

ROK Stops Credit Until Guarantees Received

LD2912062191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 28 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The Korean Government will stop granting credits intended for the USSR until it receives guarantees from the Russian Federation. As the YONHAP agency reports, today the Ministry of Finance is proposing that the Export-Import Bank of Korea and the Korea Development Bank request that the Vneshekonombank, now under Russian control, guarantee repayment of financial aid of 3 billion dollars earlier promised to the former Soviet Union.

Rutskoy Gives News Conference on Tour

PM3012172391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 91 p 1

[A. Orlov report: "Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy: We Now Have an Incomprehensible Country"]

[Text] Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy held a news conference in the "White House" 26 December. It was devoted to the results of his trip to Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, but the majority of the questions concerned the internal life of Russia, the course of the reforms, and the recent changes in the country. Here are some of the vice president's replies.

On the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]:

"I welcome the CIS. It is really the only way out of the present situation. There is no other way....But I believe that the CIS is still a transitional form. In the final analysis we will, all the same, arrive at an association of independent states in the form of some state association. Why? Pardon me, but a commonwealth is a commonwealth, and a state is a state. There is a big difference."

On the present situation:

"As regards who is to blame for what is happening today, I will say that the former top leaders and the present ones are together to blame. Let us be objective. What came down to Yeltsin after the August events? Then let us see how the first Russian Government of democratic reforms headed by Silayev worked. Let us see how the second one, again headed by Silayev, worked. And let us

see how today's government is working. Today's government must no longer count on not being called to account for all its mistakes and miscalculations. This time it will be, and I do not doubt this. Because, to take the economy to its logical conclusion, where we will again find ourselves in the first prize place from the end—it is necessary to call to account for this..."

On the strategy of reforms:

"I have met repeatedly with Boris Nikolayevich and said that reforms must follow on from each other and be phased in. The duties, powers, and operating functions of the government and parliament must be clearly defined. So that the reforms go hand in hand with a change in the law. Responsible executors must be appointed in stages. There must be coordinated actions. I will tell you: If we do not arrive at this during the next three months, it will be hard to predict possible events...."

On the way out of the crisis:

"It is necessary to create a system to find the way out of the crisis, so that people see the system clearly and understand it. And we must not plan now that in the middle of 1992 we will begin to emerge, so to speak, from the crisis. I profoundly doubt this, as I recently familiarized myself with a conclusion by experts."

On the liberalization of prices and privatization:

"The liberalization of prices cannot proceed in advance of privatization, in advance of land reform! I personally do not understand how the mass of commodities will be increased then... Whereas prior to perestroyka 32 million citizens of our country were living below the poverty line, today there are 100 million. And how many will there be after January?.... Privatization must be carried out so as not to offend those people who have always lived from wage to wage. This must be done through shareholding and a credit system. As is proposed today by Piyasheva, Popov, Sobchak....

"Privatization in the Russian state must have the nature of statehood. This is a vast territory with tremendous capacities, and so there must be a distinct and clear system here, backed up by corresponding laws. On no account must there be any ambiguity. For, if privatization proceeds in one way in one rayon, and in another way in another, then this is anarchy."

On the Army:

"In 1984 the Soviet Union was a great power, and the Army was a mighty force which was a factor for peaceful stability on the planet. But what happened later under the name of 'perestroyka' was a very real breakdown, a breakdown of statehood... The Army today is virtually demoralized. And the scattering of the Army to national apartments is none other than the undermining of defense readiness. This is not a reform. It is a reform when we all know what must follow what.

"But in our country this reform is again going downhill. Whereas at the beginning of 1991 there were 282,000 officers and ensigns without apartments, today there are half a million. And the troop withdrawal from the East European countries and the Baltic region has only just begun."

On Rutskoy's being deprived of the right to oversee five state committees, including those on conversion and nuclear security:

"First, I was interested in the date of this decree of the Russian president—19 December. When did Boris Nikolayevich sign it, if he was in Italy at the time? Second, this process of taking away—let us call it this—began long ago. The customs vanished first, then the state tax inspectorate, then state insurance supervision, and now conversion...

"I can explain to you why this has arisen. For some reason Gennadiy Eduardovich perceived the presence of two such blocs as two governments. The initial plan was to remove the control organs from the government, so that the control organs were subordinate to the president. Because he was busy, the vice president was in charge of them. It is very convenient now for the government to do whatever comes into its head. Boris Nikolayevich does not, I believe, have anything to do with this, and it was simply presented to him like this. I am most of all concerned at the fact that it was all done when I was leaving on a business trip."

On power:

"In general, we now have an incomprehensible country. A country of banks, exchanges, and presidents. In Moscow's Oktyabrskiy Rayon, for example, they will soon elect the president of Oktyabrskiy Rayon. And then they will elect a president in Petushki. I do not doubt it. But, you understand, there is some kind of reasonable sufficiency."

On the rumors of Rutskoy's resignation:

"I have already given journalists my reply to this question at the airport. I recalled the words of the famous Russian writer Nikolay Vasilyevich Gogol—I will not repeat them. I do not intend to resign."

Stresses Military

PM3012162191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by correspondent Captain Third Class V. Yermolin: "Rutskoy: 'Army's Combat Readiness Is being Undermined'"]

[Text] Moscow—On his return to Moscow from his trip to Iran and Pakistan, Vice President A. Rutskoy held a news conference on the results of the visit. He described the meetings with the leaders of the two Islamic republics as "extremely useful," since they had officially agreed to contribute to a settlement of the entire range of problems

connected with Afghanistan, including the question of the return home of our prisoners of war. The Russian delegation had obtained a list of 56 Soviet POW's and precise confirmation that 14 of them are alive. Unfortunately, the expectations were not borne out by the practical results, although there had been an accord with the mujahidin on this in Moscow—the vice president secured the release of only one person, and he was an Afghan citizen. One can be pleased for his nearest and dearest, but let us hope that similar joy will come to Russian homes in January and February, and not only Russian homes.

As is known, Rutskoy has his own view of all that is happening in Russia. You would not call this view typical of the president's entourage. Therefore, journalists seized the opportunity of asking for the vice president's opinions on a very wide range of questions.

It turns out that Aleksandr Vladimirovich viewed the creation of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] with understanding and approval, but still believes that the introduction of a market in today's conditions is a step toward anarchy and disorder. All that the Russian Government is now proposing in terms of radical economic reform was described by Rutskoy as "another giant experiment, of the kind they have become accustomed to carrying out on Russia." Concerning democracy Rutskoy used the words of the writer Maksimov: "What is happening here (in Russia—Yermolin) is not democracy but the most frightful, degrading, and loathsome form of dictatorship—the dictatorship of the street."

On the future of the Union Armed Forces: "In 1984 the Soviet Union was a great power and its Army was a mighty force, a factor of peace and stability in the world. But what happened then, after 1985, in the name of 'perestroyka,' was veritable disintegration—disintegration of the state and, of course, disintegration of the Army. It is now demoralized because it has been treated disgracefuully. The current division of the Army along ethnic lines is actually undermining defense readiness. On top of that, social problems are increasing in the Army—around 500,000 are now without quarters. Troops are still arriving from Germany....Pay has doubled, but the cost of living has increased 10-15 times over."

The vice president was negative about the Armed Forces reforms, which, he believes, are being conducted chaotically, without due preparation.

Asked whether resignation loomed in the immediate future, Rutskoy replied that he did not intend to resign.

Rutskoy Urges CIS To Resolve Afghan Problem

OW2812192791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1706 GMT 28 Dec 91

[By Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's vice-president Aleksandr Rutskoy believes that members of the Commonwealth of Independent States should join the efforts to peacefully resolve the Afghan problem which includes the endeavors to free Soviet prisoners of war. He said so in messages addressed to the leaders of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan.

According to A. Rutskoy, "the border states" can play a useful role in the implementation of agreements reached earlier with the leaders of Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Afhan opposition.

In an interviev with DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent A. Rutskoy confirmed the reports that 3 Soviet prisoners of war are to return home before January 1.

Russia Reportedly Sells Pakistan T-72 Tanks

LD3012153791 Hamburg DPA in German 1508 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The Russian Government has sold several thousand T-72 tanks from Soviet garrisons in the new federal states to Pakistan. According to the BILD daily newspaper (Tuesday edition) the sales agreement was signed in Pakistan by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. Quoting well-informed circles in Moscow, BILD also reports that the contract is worth 1.5 billion dollars. In return, Pakistan will export food and supplies to the Russian cities in which armaments factories were located. The contract provides for an increase in deliveries by up to 3 billion dollars. Rutskoy also conducted negotiations on arms supplies in Iran.

Estonian Trade Agreement Signed 28 Dec

LD2812200491 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 28 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—Russian Deputy Chairman of the Government Yegor Gaydar and Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar signed here today an agreement on principles of inter-state trade and economic agreements for 1992.

After the signing of the document the sides agreed to go over to trade, based on world prices, Gaydar told TASS. But, according to Gaydar, parity will not be reached, starting from next January. Estonia fulfilled its commitments well within the framework of the USSR, but if accounts were settled in world prices, it would have had a trade deficit with Russia amounting to 1.5 billion dollars. This is why Russian and Estonian economic authorities will have to coordinate a protocol on reciprocal deliveries and outline ways of achieving well-balanced trade.

"The Russian side is ready to give Estonia a three-months postponement for going over to clearing account-settling," Yegor Gaydar said.

On December 26 the Russian parliament ratified the treaty on the fundamentals of inter-state relations between Russia and Estonia, dated January 12, 1991. Its content was supplemented by a parliamentary resolution. It records a number of problems, which should be settled in the course of the forthcoming Russian-Estonian talks.

In this connection Savisaar told TASS today that it is necessary to continue the work started by the state delegation of Estonia and the Soviet delegation, led by Anatoliy Sobchak. He announced that Estonia was ready to begin talks with Russia in the near future. In his opinion, it is necessary to discuss at these talks the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Estonian territory, economic cooperation, border and social problems.

Mulroney Says Yeltsin To Visit 'Next Year'

LD3112114991 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 31 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa December 31 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation will visit Canada next year, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said in an interview published in MACLEAN'S Canada's weekly newsmagazine in an issue which will appear next week.

Mulroney said he has "very good relations" with the Russian president and expressed an opinion that Yeltsin is in for difficult times ahead because people possibly expect from him more than he can do.

The Canadian prime minister said he had sent a personal message to former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev with whom he has entertained cordial relations.

Moscow To Halt 'All Forms of Aid to Cuba'

LD2912141891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has announced that all forms of aid to Cuba will henceforth be halted. All economic relations will be based on market prices. Russia does not intend to expel from the country 2,000 Cubans who have requested political asylum.

St Petersburg Receives EC's Humanitarian Aid

LD3012205391 Moscow TASS in English 2036 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—Another batch of the EC humanitarian aid - 36,000 tonnes of medicines and foodstuffs—has been delivered by plane today to Saint Petersburg, sources at the EC Commission Moscow office told TASS.

The EC member-countries are now carrying out the emergency humanitarian aid program to citizens of the former Soviet Union, mainly residents of Moscow and Saint Petersburg. The program amounts to almost 240 million U.S. dollars.

The decision to this effect was taken by the European Council on December 10 in Maastricht. The aid comes practically every day by plane or by trucks.

All in all, over 150,000 tonnes of foodstuffs and other humanitarian aid will be delivered on this program, the sources said.

Belarus

Shushkevich Previews Minsk Summit Meeting

PM2912192191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with S.S. Shushkevich, Belarus Supreme Soviet chairman, by correspondents Oleg Stepanenko and Aleksandr Ulitenok in Minsk; date not given: "Many Drafts, But...."—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Each of us is extremely busy before the new year. The leader of a state is all the more busy, particularly in our anxious times. But S. Shushkevich, Belarus Supreme Soviet chairman, has a special responsibility during these days: Minsk is welcoming the delegations of the member states of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. Stanislav Stanislavovich's working day or, rather, his working 24 hours, are planned literally down to the minute. Yet he found an opportunity to meet with PRAVDA's correspondents.

[PRAVDA] This is probably the first time ever since the war that have we greeted the New Year in such an anxious situation....

[Shushkevich] Yes, the times now are complex and difficult. But they are crucial times. Now it is most important not to plunge into despair. We have everything in order to build a life worthy of man: industrious, skilled hands, a bright intellect, and a strengthening sense of national awareness. In addition, not only destructive processes are under way, creative ones have begun too. I mean the creation of the CIS. The idea born in Belarus three weeks ago has already found not only broad support but also practical embodiment.

[PRAVDA] Stanislav Stanislavovich, what place will the upcoming meeting of the leaders of 11 states occupy in this rapidly developing process?

[Shushkevich] It is hard to answer unequivocally. In Alma-Ata we agreed that eight basic documents would be prepared. Strange though this may seem, the document defining the procedure for reorganizing the Armed Forces strikes me as most important in this package. It is necessary to have a clear idea of their present state and of the plans for the phased transfer of military subunits to qualitatively new structures. I also hope that questions of the Commonwealth's charter will also be agreed on, at least conceptually. We might also manage to sign a document on the CIS institutions, because it is right here that we still lack full unanimity on certain questions, although, if you take an unbiased look at reality, you cannot particularly count on this in such organs.

[PRAVDA] Are the materials for the meeting being prepared in a single coordination center?

[Shushkevich] No, intensive work on the documents is being done in literally all the CIS states. The pressure of initiatives—substantiated, correct initiatives—is simply furious. I favor such vigor. A whole number of questions is arising now, connected, for example, with the common communications systems, although they were not envisaged previously. Only Kazakhstan has been entrusted with submitting views on space. But life is in a hurry, and what was postponed until tomorrow now has to be done today. In short, far more drafts have been prepared than were planned.

[PRAVDA] So, each republic has prepared its own draft in each area, has it?

[Shushkevich] No. As a rule, a certain state heads the work in a certain area. But experts on the working groups represent all the countries of the Commonwealth. They have all come to Minsk.

[PRAVDA] Stanislav Stanislavovich, are the leaders of the allied states being strengthened in their realization that what is needed is an adequate degree of integration, which will not disrupt the natural relations that have evolved over decades and centuries? Or is what we call the "war of sovereignties" breaking out among some of them?

[Shushkevich] I will dwell on what is most important: borders. They must be open to citizens. This question has already virtually been resolved. From the viewpoint of organizing the economy, there are two competing approaches. First, the undoubted realization that without integration we will experience exceptionally hard times. Second, the republics cannot find their feet as sovereign states if all the so-called integration structures from the past are preserved. Therefore a fundamentally new approach is needed here. What is the difficulty? A juridical, legislative vacuum has been formed, and an initial normative basis is needed. Even if we work out very few principles and conclude very few treaties, all the same we need a mechanism and an organ of control with very clear-cut and effective sanctions for violating or failing to fulfill what we outlined together.

I would be happy if we were to reach agreement on two questions: the military question, the approach to which is now far from unified, and the mechanism for fulfilling contractual intergovernmental obligations....

[PRAVDA] Do many people fear the possibility of Russia's diktat? Is this valid?

[Shushkevich] Since we are building rule-of-law states and a rule-of-law commonwealth, everything must be resolved legally. I get the impression that even Russia itself is convinced that, in general, it cannot occupy a worthy position on the principle of great-powerism [as published]. Russia is great in itself. Its greatness must not, in my opinion, be increased by diktat in respect of others. Moreover, there is a very easy way out of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth, if something were to happen, could turn away from Russia.

[PRAVDA] The economic situation causes the greatest alarm. Will the problem of coordinating economic programs and reforms arise at the conference?

[Shushkevich] The first idea is expressed in the old style: to maintain deliveries at least at the level of 70 percent of last year, and so on. To be honest, I do not see any innovations in these premises that would tally with the idea of a political commonwealth—I cannot see them! I believe that the governments will find a different approach in accordance with the new realities. I do not rule out the possibility that there might not be an overall accord, because there must be simply normal economic relations among sovereign states. But accords on the level of inflation must definitely be in common, which at once determines emission quotas. Stern measures are needed here. For, if there are none, the Commonwealth could lose its meaning, as then the introduction of national currencies is inevitable—I emphasize, inevitable (!). This is virtually a process of disintegration. This is why a fully agreed mechanism of quotas for the emission of money is needed. It is necessary to rule out legislatively, on the basis of treaties, an improvement in your own position at your neighbor's expense. Questions of your own well-being must be resolved by honest labor. Otherwise there will be no equality. Account should be taken of the fact that there are differences in natural resources, in the republics' levels of development.... Perhaps this is why there must be some kind of a correction, for other present members of the Commonwealth are sometimes to blame for the actual state of certain republics.

[PRAVDA] But a confidential approach is not an economic category. Interest operates in economics, and it is frequently at odds with your neighbor's interest. Clearly, the Commonwealth and its institutions must somehow regulate the balance of interests, after the EEC model, for example.

[Shushkevich] You see, the EC includes more reliable autonomous structures, if I may call the states this. They already knew how to manage at home, and they have only improved their position thanks to the joint resolution of certain tasks. But we have taken refuge in joint management and built such unreliable, distant economic ties that it is simply terrible.

[PRAVDA] And yet, will the CIS have a mechanism against monopoly diktat by one of the states?

[Shushkevich] A general prescription is impossible here. For monopolism is sometimes not an economic necessity but a consequence of a past subjective approach. Why, for example, had attention previously focused only on oil extraction in Tyumen? Kazakhstan ranks fifth in the world in terms of known reserves, and oil extraction could have been developed more intensively right there. A redistribution of effort will probably be needed—for we, the Ukraine, and Russia all sent our specialists to Tyumen....

But the question now is this: Where are investments more profitable? It must be resolved not out of considerations of the former, central morality, nor according to this principle: We have seen one place, one of the powers-that-be liked it, and so let us invest billions and build it up. Such mobilization of means is impossible now and cannot be squeezed out the way it used to be. We are taking the path of normal management, which is coming close to market management. This must be resolved not by new structures, for what is needed is bilateral, trilateral, and quadrilateral treaties, on the basis of which joint economic projects will be implemented. There is no need to create special economic structures for this.

[PRAVDA] Stanislav Stanislavovich, how do you look to the future—with alarm or hope?

[Shushkevich] I am, in general, an optimist by nature, and I know that nothing will come of it if you at once look with great alarm. I look with hope. I would not have gotten into this business at all if I had not been confident that it was necessary to take precisely this path.

[PRAVDA] What would you like to say to PRAVDA's readers?

[Shushkevich] I am a regular subscriber to your newspaper, and I will receive it in the New Year, too. For me, PRAVDA is a respected newspaper, despite all the peripeteias, despite the fact that it was the organ of the CPSU Central Committee. It seems to me that you have found your bearings magnificently as an independent publication. I am convinced that professionals will always find a worthy path. In my opinion, PRAVDA has indeed found it. I see its views as left-wing/near-communist [levo-prikommunisticheskiy], so to speak, but as very intelligibly conveyed. If such a position is expressed as professionally as you express it, one can experience only pleasure. I am convinced that PRAVDA will be the truth—you understand, I am convinced. It will be a popular newspaper. I would like to wish that it will continue the transformations it has begun, will imitate no one, and will go its own way. I wish the newspaper's readers faith in their heart, courage, and hope.

Minsk, Latvia Hold Border Discussions

OW2812193491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1716 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The head of the press service of the Latvian Foreign Ministry, Mr. Mikhail Popkov, has informed BF [BALTFAX] that the commissions on the demarcation of the border between Latvia and Belarus had their first meeting in Vitebsk, Belarus, yesterday (December 27). The Latvian commission is headed by State Minister Janis Dinevics, the Belarussian one by the Deputy Chairman of the Vitebsk Regional Council, Mr. Tikhon Misuno.

It was decided that expert groups should be formed in both republics to investigate the problem. Their conclusions would be considered by the commissions at their next meeting at the end of January.

Both commissions emphasized that Latvia and Belarus had no disagreements over their border. The commissions had been set up in order to formalize the existing border, choose location for customs posts and discuss customs regulations.

Defense Minister on Armed Forces Formation

LD3012190191 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1651 GMT 30 Dec 91

[From the "Politics" section"]

[Text] The defence minister of Belarus believes the strength of Belarussian Armed Forces should be about 90,000, Lieutenant General Petr Chaus, defence minister of the Republic of Belarus, told PF [POSTFACTUM] on December 30: The experience of civilized countries shows that usually some 0.8 to 0.9 percent of the adult population serve in the Army. Proceeding from this assumption, we got this figure in an arithmetical way. But we should not regard it as an ultimate one. Besides, the time by which we shall reach this target has not been set either. In the opinion of Chaus, Belarussian Armed Forces should be small by their strength, mobile by their use and should possess a high combat preparedness. Much remains to be done in Belarus to create its own Armed Forces. The troops deployed in Belarus are so numerous, that the republic can neither support them by itself nor quickly reduce their strength to a reasonable level. A reasonable programme of troop reduction of the Belarussian Military District is needed, Lieutenant General Chaus stressed.

Zhirinovskiy Calls For Republic's Abolition

PM2912144791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Nikolay Matukovskiy report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "V. Zhirinovskiy Promises To Show People"]

[Text] Minsk—A rally in Minsk attended by V. Zhirinovskiy ended in a fist fight.

Vladimir Volfovich had barely had time to alight from the train, when Belarussian Television gave him air time during its most popular evening program "Krok" [Step], and the grateful orator stunned millions of television viewers by stating that it is necessary to abolish the Belarus Republic and turn it into a Russian province [guberniya]. He even threatened to hang some people from the lamp posts.

Later V. Zhirinovskiy tried to enter the office of S. Shushkevich, Supreme Soviet chairman. When staff blocked his way, he promised meaningfully: "You Belarussians, you have been trampled on by the Germans, and soon I will show you!" However, it remains unclear what exactly he will show them—the unsuccessful would-be president was gently shown out of Government House. An unsanctioned rally was later held near the Sports Palace, during which Zhirinovskiy's supporters and opponents clashed in a fist fight reminiscent of the old days. Reportedly, Vladimir Volfovich also got a sound thrashing in the ensuing commotion.

'Panic Buying' at Minsk Bakeries Reported

LD3112154391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 31 Dec 91

[By BELTA correspondent Svetlana Kalinkina]

[Text] Minsk, 31 Dec (TASS)—People are saying that the leaders of the sovereign republics traveling past long lines at the baker's shops were told that these are Minsk people desperately keen to make a present of bread and salt to their guests. Until yesterday, Belarus had not known bread lines. The BELTA correspondent tried to clarify the situation at the republic's Ministry of Grain Products.

"All the bakeries are operating at full capacity," Deputy Minister Leonid said. "We are not only fulfilling our plan, but every day we are supplying the trade network with 30-40 percent more bread products than usual. So by all the laws of logic there should be bread in abundance in the shelves. The only explanation for what has happened is panic buying prior to price liberalization."

Moldova

Decree Nationalizes Civil Defense System

LD3012222791 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Kishinev December 30 TASS—"The civil defence system on the territory of Moldova is now the republic's property," says a decree issued today by Moldovan President Mircea Snegur.

The document notes that it was decided, in order to regulate the work of the service and in keeping with Moldova's declaration of independence, to transfer the civil defence headquarters, all its bodies and control facilities to republican jurisdiction, along with civil defence units of the former USSR, deployed on the republic's territory.

Henceforth the Moldovan civil defence chief will be appointed and dismissed by decision of the Moldovan Government.

Ukraine

Kravchuk on Russia's Stance on Economic Issues

OW3012165691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1516 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] In an interviev with IF [INTERFAX], Ukrainian President, Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, expressed dissatisfaction with the way Russia and the Commonwealth dealt with economic issues. He said that on January 10, the Ukraine would release prices and that pending this it would take "reliable measures" to ensure that the Ukrainian economy did not suffer any damage.

Speaking about the rouble zone, Mr. Kravchuk said that it was "mere illusion" because in violation of the Minsk agreements of December 8, the Commonwealth did not provide the Ukraine with the amount of roubles necessary for switching over to free prices. The agreements were violated shortly after the Commonwealth was set up, said Mr. Kravchuk. "Before discussing the possibility of signing the Commonwealth's charter, one should see what this Commonwealth is like," he said .

Mr. Yeltsin described the situation as rather complicated. He said that it was the right of every independent state to introduce food coupons. "In Alma-Ata we reached an agreement on the national currencies and signed a corresponding accord. National currencies may be introduced after one more discussion of this problem is held at the conference of the Commonwealth's heads of state.

Before his departure to Minsk, Mr. Yeltsin expressed hope, however, that the Commonwealth's charter would be signed.

Kravchuk Confirms Four-Way Nuclear Control

AU2912134891 Paris AFP in English 0119 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, Dec 29 (AFP)—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said the Commonwealth of Independent States' strategic nuclear weapons can only be fired with the agreement of the presidents of Russia, the Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

Kravchuk spoke in an interview with the Rome newspaper CORRIERE DELLA SERA, which supplied AFP with a transcript on Saturday [28 December].

"I can technically block the button and the others can too," he said. The agreement of the four presidents to fire one or more strategic nuclear weapons was to be made by telephone, he said.

He also predicted that the CIS as a unit would have no cohesive foreign policy, leaving such matters to the individual republics.

"We don't have any intention of forming community structures on the international scene," he said.

Border Guard Committee Chief Appointed

LD3012171891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1619 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kiev, 30 Dec (TASS)—By decree of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, Lieutenant General Valeriy Gubenko has been appointed chairman of the State Committee for Guarding Ukraine's State Border. Previously he had headed the troops of the Western Border District.

Kiev Military District Subordinate to Leader

LD2812191691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2200 GMT 27 Dec 91

["Television News Service" feature]

[Text] As the meeting of the leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Minsk approaches, there is increasing talk about military problems. Commander in Chief Shaposhnikov has said that the military has abandoned the concept of single armed forces in favor of joint armed forces. But even this option doesn't suit everybody. The Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan, in particular, intend to establish national armies of their own linked to the joint armed forces by a single operational command. Here is what they are saying about this in the Ukraine:

[Correspondent V. Lyaskalo] A news conference has been held in the Red Banner Kiev Military District. One problem, more than any other, is worrying soldiers and generals alike. How is the Soviet Army to be partitioned in the context of a Commonwealth of Independent States?

[V.D. Boriskin, Kiev Military District chief of staff] A special group, headed by Colonel General Pyankov, has been set up. It is now deciding which units will belong to the Ukrainian armed forces—and here I'm only talking about my own Kiev Military District—and which units and detachments will join the strategic containment forces. I don't think this process will take long.

[Lyaskalo] Who are you subordinate to at this very minute?

[Boriskin] A clear-cut legal decision has been made on this. Therefore, we are carrying out the task we were given by the Ukrainian president and the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense.

[Lyaskalo] Doesn't this contradict your military oath?

[Boriskin] No. We swore an oath to the people, to the Soviet people. The Soviet people included the Ukrainian

people. We are prepared to defend both the Ukraine and those states that have now joined the Commonwealth.

Black Sea Fleet, Armed Forces Control Viewed

PM3112115191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 91 p 1

[INTERFAX report: "Major Problems"]

[Text] The Ukraine intends to take over the whole of the Black Sea Fleet and the military districts on its territory.

INTERFAX has learned that the Ukraine lodged a protest when the aircraft-carrying cruiser Kuznetsov was recently moved from Sevastopol to a northern port in Russia.

An expert at the General Staff of the former USSR believes that the Ukraine is clearly violating the Alma-Ata agreements by rejecting the idea of creating two fleets—its own and a Russian one—in the Black Sea. In conversation with an agency correspondent, he expressed the opinion that the Ukraine's intention to take over the Black Sea Fleet completely should be discussed at the level of heads of independent states.

On 26 December Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov flew immediately to Kiev to discuss the situation with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and republic Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov. Sources claim that the talks could be about not only the fate of the Black Sea Fleet but also the Ukraine's decision to take over all the military districts on its territory. Kiev intends to take control of all the material and technical facilities in these districts, including depots and ranges.

Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov also published a number of decrees that changed the entire system of command and control of forces stationed in the republic. The center no longer has any jurisdiction over them and only he can put them on the alert.

Party Leader Protests Crimean Guards

OW3012223191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2047 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Yuriy Meshkov, leader of the Republican Movement in the Crimea, has protested at a session of the Crimean Supreme Soviet against the planned deployment of Ukrainian guards in Simferopol. He argued that the move would be in violation of the state sovereignty of the Crimean Republic which is pressing for the peninsula's secession from the Ukraine.

President Orders 100 Percent Wage Increases

OW3112005191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2047 GMT 30 Dec 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has ordered 100% pay raises for all the state-sector employees as of January 2, and invited organizations unsupported by the government to raise their personnel's wages likewise. Pensions, student grants and social security payments will double too.

If prices go up by more than 100% the people's incomes will be kept up through indexing.

One-fourth of the wages will be paid in the form of multiple coupons that will officially be introduced as of January 10. The rest will be paid in rubles, but with time the proportion will change and the ruble will be gradually ousted by the coupon.

As of January 10, food and consumer goods in state-run stores will be sold for coupons, and rubles will circulate in the non-state stores, catering facilities, and the service sector.

Armenia

Supreme Soviet Ratifies Commonwealth Accord

OW3012222791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2047 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Reports from Yerevan say the Armenian Supreme Soviet has ratified the Commonwealth agreement signed in Alma-Ata on December 21.

Although the ratification took place at a closed parliamentary meeting on December 26, official reports about it came only today. According to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, the reason is that the republican leadership waited until the Commonwealth leaders opened their conference in Minsk on December 30.

Azerbaijan

'Overwhelming Majority' Vote for Independence

OW3012220691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2047 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Unofficial reports say the overwhelming majority of Azerbaijanis supported, in the course of Sunday's [29 December] referendum, the independence act passed by the republican parliament on October 18.

According to the Central electoral commission, in 27 constituencies more than 95 of the voters said yes to republican independence. The results of voting in the other 62 constituencies will be announced later.

The referendum attracted 95.85% of those eligible to vote in Azerbaijan.

Reportage Highlights Increased NKAO Attacks

Stepanakert Heights Said Seized

OW3012163391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1516 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] From the morning of 30 December the administrative centre of the Nagorno-Karabakh [Stepanakert], renamed Hankendi by Azerbaijan, has been the victim of fierce shelling attacks. At the information centre of the Armenian operational headquarters, INTERFAX was told that the Azerbaijani OMON [special purpose militia detachment], numbering about 500, on the night of 29 December had seized key heights near the city, from where BTR and BMP tanks are shelling the city. Part of a hospital has been damaged and, according to an Armenian source, there are many casualties.

On Monday [31 December] the Nagorno-Karabakh executive committee sent a telegram to the UN General Secretary, leaders of the European Community, members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], and to Soviet Minister of Defence Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, conveying news of an Armenian genocide. In order to put a stop to this, the executive committee demanded that part of the Soviet Army, stationed in Karabakh become involved in operations against the Azerbaijani armed forces.

Attacks Reported To Intensify

NC3012183191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1600 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] While the leaders of the independent republics forming the Commonwealth [words indistinct], the Azerbaijanis have stepped up pressure in Nagorno-Karabakh to achieve their barbaric objectives.

On the night of 29 December, the Azerbaijanis prepared their artillery and launched a massive attack on Kirkidzhan from Shusha [words indistinct] to reoccupy their positions there. On the same night Stepanakert was subjected to bombardment.

In the early morning of 30 December, unidentified persons attacked the guard post of the military (?regiment) in Stepanakert. One soldier was killed and another was injured. The attackers seized [word indistinct] pistols and escaped.

At 0900 on 30 September, two tanks, two armored cars, nine (?pieces of artillery) and a great number of Azerbaijani armed formations were moving toward Kirkidzhan. At 1130 the Azerbaijanis shelled Stepanakert with tanks and missiles from Kirkidzhan.

In the early morning of 30 December, the Azerbaijanis also attacked Karintak in Shushinskiy Rayon and a battle ensued. There is no information on casualties.

On the night of 29 December, an attack took place on Mkhitarashen [words indistinct].

Martuni was shelled and fired upon in the early morning of 30 December. The Azerbaijanis attacked the [name indistinct] building from the direction of Amiranlar and [name indistinct] villages [words indistinct].

On the night of 29 December, battles took place between the Armenian Karachinar and the Azerbaijani [name indistinct] village in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. The battles continued intermittently until daybreak. On 29 December an Azerbaijani group was [word indistinct] near Karachinar and three Azerbaijanis were killed.

In the evening of 29 December, the Azerbaijanis attacked (Ichan) in Mardakertskiy Rayon but were repulsed.

Academy Appeals to Yeltsin for Help

LD3012210791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] A bulletin on military operations is in our program again. After the withdrawal of subunits of the former Soviet Army and interior troops from Nagorno-Karabakh and adjacent rayons of Azerbaijan, the situation in the region has sharply deteriorated. Last night 25 people were killed.

A total of 18 members of the Russian Academy of Sciences have sent to Russian President Yeltsin and Defense Minister Shaposhnikov a statement in which they ask that urgent measures be taken to ensure the safety of the Armenian popul..ion in Nagorno-Karabakh, up to and including bringing in subunits of the Commonwealth of Independent States special troops or international armed forces.

Concern Over U.S. Policy Noted

NC3012204191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 29 Dec 91

[From the "Republican Press Review"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A real war is going on in Nagorno-Karabakh. Every day claims new victims. The Azerbaijani brigands are threatening to turn the Christmas holidays into days of slaughter of a handful of Christian residents of Nagorno-Karabakh.

On the other hand, Azerbaijan is concerned about the way the United States assesses its policy on Nagorno-Karabakh. This concern was expressed in a letter Azerbaijan's Foreign Minister Guseyn Sadykhov sent U.S. Secretary of State Baker. In Sadykhov's opinion, Azerbaijan has been facing aggression from Armenia for the last four years, and this supposedly prompted the creation of the national armed forces. The minister has expressed hope that the United States will appreciate the [word indistinct] foreign policy of Azerbaijan. He has given assurances that the republic is ready to develop its international relations on the basis of equality in keeping with the UN Charter. He has invited James Baker to visit the area to familiarize himself with the situation.

Further Reportage on Tbilisi Developments

Deputy Defense Minister Detained

AU3012131091 Paris AFP in English 1239 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Tbilisi, Dec 30 (AFP) - Georgian Deputy Defense Minister Nodar Georgadze has been detained by special government forces and is being held inside the parliament building here, a government spokeswoman said.

Georgadze, who is also leader of the armed militia, the Union of Afghan War Veterans, was taken from his car outside the union headquarters on Sunday [29 December] and brought to the parliament, spokeswoman Khatia Jinjikhadze said.

"I don't think he wants to be here," she stated, adding that he had been "arrested" for taking arms given to him by the government and using them against government forces defending President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

Georgadze was one of the militia leaders who met for talks on Saturday [28 December] and called on Gamsakhurdia to resign and transfer power to the parliament.

Kitovani To Ask for Russia's Help

LD3012170391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Tengiz Kitovani, commander of the Georgian National Guard, told TASS today that he intends to ask the Russian parliament for help. His units are now in their eighth day of fighting against supporters of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Kitovani said he is making his appeal because a platoon of snipers has arrived in Tbilisi from the Chechen Republic to reinforce the defenders of Government House. He stressed that their presence is viewed as gross interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Georgia.

The battles in the center of Tbilisi are continuing. According to official figures, 58 have been killed and 340 wounded on both sides since the fighting started.

Gamsakhurdia Ready for Talks

LD3012184791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Excerpt] The president of the former Soviet republic of Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, has again said he is ready for talks with the opposition; however, he said opposition forces were not keen on resolving the issues peacefully. [passage omitted]

Leader 'Overtired'; Defenders Confident

LD3012195691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1826 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 30 Dec (TASS)—Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has overtired himself, but his calm and resilience imbue the defenders of Government House who are around him with confidence in victory, a TASS correspondent was told today by Khatuna Dzhindzhikhadze, an employee of the president's press service. In her words, the building in which Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters have been defending themselves against the armed opposition forces for eight days now is completely under the control of the guardsmen and volunteers loyal to him. She denied the report carried by some media that a part of Government House

has been seized by the opposition. The building has sufficient stockpiles of food. All the women have been evacuated, except for those who remained behind of their own free will. A meeting of the republican Supreme Soviet Presidium is held every day. If the need arises, the parliament's defenders can supplement any of their reserves.

Severe Fighting Continues

OW3012221391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2047 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Fighting in Georgia's capital Tbilisi has spread from the center of the city to other districts. Opposition spokesmen say that an active part in the fighting is being taken by Chechen guerrillas and snipers, who were flown on Sunday [29 December] aboard a IU-154 airliner from the Chechen Republic's capital Grozny into Ajaria's capital Batumi and were taken from there to Tbilisi.

There have been heavy casualties in the city, althouth the exact number is so far impossible to find out.

Georgia's armed opposition has come out with a message "to all the world's democratic forces" urging immediate help. Otherwise, the message says, "democracy in Georgia is doomed to be destroyed in a savage bloodbath."

Opposition To Storm Leader's Residence

OW3012222991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2047 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] A group of Georgian government officials that arrived in Chechen-Ingush's capital Grozny Monday [30 December] informed the Chechen President Djokhar Dudayev that opposition forces in Tbilisi were preparing another storming attack on the residence of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. They described the situation in the Georgian capital as "very complicated" but expressed the hope that the conflict could still be settled peacefully.

The meeting with the Georgian delegation involved Chechen's Acting Prime Minister Shamil Beno.

In reply to a question from IF [INTERFAX], Mr. Beno denied as "totally groundless" the report that a Tupolev-154 plane carrying armed Chechen guards had landed in the Georgian city of Batumi earlier on Monday [30 December].

Mkhedrioni Militia Takes Up Positions

AU3112074191 Paris AFP in English 2212 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Tbilisi, Dec 30 (AFP)—Some 500 men of the opposition Mkhedrioni militia group backed by one BTR armoured troop transport and three cannons took up positions here Monday [30 December] and were "studying the situation," local journalists said.

They said there were some 500 armed Mkhedrioni men inside the science academy building opposite a hotel being used as a headquarters by opposition forces loyal to Tengiz Kitovani.

Another 100 Mkhedrioni men armed only with rifles took up a position in Freedom Square on the opposite side of the parliament building, the journalists said.

The Mkhedrioni is a para-military group led by Dzhaba Ioseliani, an outspoken opponent of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

The journalists said Ioseliani was inside the science academy building but could not say what his plans were.

Opposition Leader Interviewed

PM3112111591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 91 p 2

[By correspondents O. Karmaza, N. Mikeladze, and S. Chernykh: "Today Opposition Promises a Peaceful Night, But Meanwhile Storming Is Under Way in Tbilisi"]

[Excerpt] Tbilisi—[passage omitted] We asked Dzhaba Ioseliani, the leader of the "Mkhedrioni" opposition group, to answer a few questions from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Mr. Ioseliani, the general opinion is that you are now one of the few people who can say how the matter will end....

[Ioseliani] It is not a question of storming the Government House. Kitovani could have carried out that storming on the very first day. But there are young boys 18-20 years old there. We would kill them all. Who needs their blood? We hope that Gamsakhurdia will nonetheless realize that resistance is futile and leave his bunker. If he does not understand, we shall have to concentrate all our forces and take the house. But the people must see that we are against bloodshed.

[KOMSOMOMLSKAYA PRAVDA] Do you have sufficient forces?

[Ioseliani] The opposition has more than enough forces. I alone can gather 12,000 combatants.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Where do you and the guards in general intend to greet the New Year?

[Ioseliani] At home. Only at home. On New Year's Eve Tbilisi will sleep in peace: The fighting will end. That I promise. [end of interview] [passage omitted].

'Major Clash' Said To Be 'Imminent'

AU3112120791 Paris AFP in English 1143 GMT 31 Dec 91

[By Christopher Boian]

[Text] Tbilisi, Dec 31 (AFP)—A major clash involving tanks and heavy artillery looked imminent on Tuesday [31 December] as government and opposition forces positioned armoured vehicles at strategic points in central Tbilisi.

"I think today the parliament is going to be destroyed," said an opposition fighter as a half-dozen BTR armoured personnel carriers, at least one BMP armoured vehicle equipped with an artillery gun and one 122-mm cannon were maneuvered in positions around opposition fortifications in the city center.

On the government side, at least one Soviet-built T-54 tank and several armoured personnel carriers were brought into position around the parliament building where forces loyal to President Zviad Gamsakhurdia were barricaded.

Soldiers in bullet-proof armour and helmets and armed with machine guns, grenades and Mukha anti-tank rockets shouted orders and made final preparations for what seemed certain to be a heavy clash likely to result in many casualties.

"Here comes the war," said an elderly woman as she scurried across an open square near one of the opposition headquarters in the former Communist Party Marxist-Leninist institute about 300 yards (metres) east of the parliament building.

While opposition militia under the command of Tengiz Kitovani have been engaged in the fighting since it broke out on December 22, at least one other militia—the Mkhedrioni, led by Dzhaba Ioseliani—also took up positions in and around the science academy building and also appeared to be preparing for a fight.

Ioseliani, questioned inside his headquarters, denied that his forces would attack the parliament building but his aides said the Mkhedrioni had three armoured vehicles and one cannon and said Ioseliani was coordinating his plans with Kitovani and other opposition leaders.

Ioseliani, one of five opposition leaders freed from prison Friday [27 December] following an attack on the building where they were being held, said he had already rounded up 600 of his men despite the lack of telephone communications in Tbilisi and indicated that more could be on the way.

"We didn't want the situation to continue like this," Ioseliani said, when asked why he had decided to take up a position alongside Kitovani's forces.

Troops loyal to Vazha Adamia, leader of a separate militia known as the Merab Kostava Society, were also back on the streets of Tbilisi after an absence of several days from the city center, local journalists said.

Although the city center was relatively quiet as the armour moved into position, machine gun fire could be heard on the outskirts of the Georgian capital.

Medical workers near the opposition headquarters said around 200 people had been killed since the fighting began but added that an exact death toll was not available.

More Reportage on Continued S. Ossetia Unrest

Parliament Chairman Said Released

LD3012211791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] According to unconfirmed information reported by local radio, Torez Kulumbegov, chairman of the parliament of the republic of South Ossetia, has been released from the interrogation cell of the Georgian KGB. His release was made possible by the leader of the Mkhedrioni Military Association, professor and art expert Dzhaba Ioseliani.

Unit Arrives To Defend Tskhinvali

LD2812144691 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 28 Dec 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 28 TASS—The first detachment of South Ossetians, composed of refugees in North Ossetia, arrived on Monday [30 December] to Tskhinvali to defend the city from Georgian militants. The South Ossetian Defence Committee announced total mobilisation of all men aged between 18 and 60 and two more detachments are being formed in Vladikavkaz to join Tskhinvali defenders.

A three-hour shootout took place between Georgian and Ossetian militants on Saturday [28 December] in the outskirts of Tskhinvali. Several people were wounded, unconfirmed reports said.

Several Georgian units left South Ossetia to support President Zviad Gamsakhurdia fighting the opposition forces in Tbilisi. Still, some ten thousand well-armed militants continue to blockade Tskhinvali.

Telephone and telegraph communications with Tskhinvali were interrupted for two days running.

Situation 'Deplorable' for 1991

LD3012145491 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 30 Dec 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 30 TASS—The results of the outgoing year in South Ossetia are quite deplorable. The armed confrontation between Georgians and Ossetians is continuing.

According to the press centre of the Ossetian information committee, last night there was shooting on the distant approaches to Tskhinvali and in Znauri District. The fire came from nearby Georgian villages. It was aimed at dwelling houses and public facilities. Shots were also fired at interior troops checkpoints, military barracks and deployment area of the helicopter regiment. According to unconfirmed information, there were casualties among civilians. In reply, Ossetian guardsmen opened fire at the positions of Georgian militants.

On the eve of the new year, interior troops and self-defence detachments attempted, under the protection of armour, to bring into Tskhinvali a large motor convoy with food products, New Year presents for children, medicines and fuel. However, they came under heavy fire from large-calibre machineguns and grenade-throwers near the village of Kekhvi. The humanitarian action was thwarted. The convoy returned to the village of Dzhava. Seven trucks were damaged and three drivers wounded.

Tskhinvali is completely cut off from the rest of the world. There is no electricity, gas, water or heat supply in the town. All the telephone and telegraph lines are cut. Local industrial enterprises, building organisations and motor pools are idle for more than a year now. The railway station does not operate.

According to reliable sources, up to 10,000 armed militants, are now massed around Tskhinvali, although several detachments, loyal to the Georgian president, have been rushed from South Ossetia to Tbilisi.

Alarming reports are coming in from distant villages of Tskhinvali and Znauri Districts. Georgian militants have launched punitive operations against the local population there. In the past three days they have burned down and pillaged 18 dwellings, capturing 14 Ossetians, whose whereabouts are unknown. Georgian militants demand ransoms of three million roubles for each hostage.

According to the latest information received from the self-defence committee of the South Ossetian Republic, more than 400 Ossetians were killed, some 500 children, women and old folk—wounded, and hundreds of civilians were taken hostages in South Ossetia during the past year. Ossetians have been evicted from 102 populated localities. More than 100,000 Ossetian refugees have fled from South Ossetia and other areas of Georgia.

Kazakhstan

Gorbachev Apologizes Over Border Issue

OW2712171591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1537 GMT 27 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [27 December] the former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a cable to President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, deploring his recent slip of the tongue as to the possibility of Russia's territorial claims to Kazakhstan.

We all know, said M. Gorbachev in his cable, that territorial divisions in the country have been changed more than once, and often at will. This explained his slip of the tongue which, according to M. Gorbachev, might be misinterpreted as recognition of the need to revise Kazakhstan's borders.

He firmly believes, said M. Gorbachev, that in the process of forming the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] it's particularly important to preclude territorial disputes, resolutely shed the vestiges of unitarianism and safeguard the valuable factors accumulated in the many decades of neighborliness and cooperation between all ethnic groups of our multinational country.

China Signs Economic Cooperation Agreement

LD2812063691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 26 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] As reported earlier, an agreement on the principles of commercial and economic cooperation between China and Kazakhstan has been signed in Beijing. This is the first such document to be concluded between China and one of the republics making up our Commonwealth.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Kulikov] The five-year agreement provides for the granting of most-favored-nation status in trade between the two countries. It regulates currency and other forms of accounting, provides for the holding of fairs and exhibitions, and the development of border trade and the strengthening and expansion of stable long-term economic ties, including those with the special economic zones being set up in Kazakhstan.

[PRC Foreign Trade Minister Li Langqing in Chinese fading into Kulikov's translation into Russian] ... economic and commercial relations with the Union [sentence incomplete as heard], and we expect that ties with the states that have emerged in your country will develop with equal vigor. In addition, we hope that, at a difficult time for you, China will be able to help the Soviet people, just as we once received support from your country. [end recording]

Kyrgyzstan

Turkey Signs Friendship, Cooperation Treaty

OW2812185891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1706 GMT 28 Dec 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" feature by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kyrgyzstan and Turkey have agreed to consider each other as friendly states, says the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation signed during a visit to Ankara by Kyrgyzstan's President Askar Akayev. The visit took place between December 22 and 26. The treaty provides for conducting regular consultations on bilateral relations and regional problems. Besides, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey intend to cooperate in economics, in information exchanges and in the training of specialists. Their treaty aims to promote the development of contacts between the two countries' sister cities, such as Bishkek and Izmir, and the efforts to preserve common historic and cultural heritage. Kyrgyzstan and Turkey also agreed to open consulates on each other's territory. Their treaty points out that it is not aimed against any other country and that it has no bearing on the commitments and rights of the two sides stemming from the existing bilateral and multilateral agreements.

Tajikistan

Republic Takes Control of Uranium Plant

OW2912141291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1338 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Under the Declaration of Independence adopted in September 1991, Tajikistan takes under its full control the supersecret plant built in the republic's north in the 1940s to enrich uranium for the first Soviet A-bomb. Until recently all information about the plant was strictly classified.

According to IF's [INTERFAX] reporter, Tajikistani MPs [members of parliament] have lately been heard actively discussing the possible dividends that republican control over nuclear technology may bring, particularly now that new and still more significant uranium deposits have been discovered in Tajikistan.

One kilo of raw materials obtained in the republic costs $100,000 and more in the world market. There has been talk of the possible establishment of a uranium-developing consortium with Arab countries.

Tajikistani authorities have so far made no official statements on the matter.

Ministry Reports Foreign Countries' Recognition

LD3012205891 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Dushanbe December 30 TASS—Tajikistan's Foreign Ministry issued a report that sovereignty of the Republic of Tajikistan was recognised by a number of countries, among them Australia, Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, India, Iran, Canada, China, Cuba, Mongolia, Tunisia and Japan.

Energy Shortage Reported in Dushanbe

LD2712184291 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 27 Dec 91

[Text] A conference chaired by Karimov, first deputy prime minister of the republic of Tajikistan, has assessed the state of and measures to supply the inhabitants of Dushanbe and (?the rest) of the republic with electricity and heat. It was noted that an unpleasant situation has arisen in supplying electricity and heat to residents of Dushanbe and the rest of the republic because of the limited supply of gas and the insufficient delivery of fuel oil. As of 24 December, only 4,600 tonnes of fuel oil were available in the Dushanbe central heating, while fuel oil consumption is between 1000-1,200 tonnes every 24 hours.

In accordance with a report from the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products, nearly 2,000 tonnes of fuel oil will have arrived by 28 December, which is completely (?insufficient) and cannot provide for regular operation of the central heating. It was decided at the conference that the Tajik Gas Company should take [word indistinct] measures to supply the republic with natural gas to prevent a lack of heat in Dushanbe. All additional gas should be used for Dushanbe central heating. The State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products should find a way to provide Dushanbe central heating with 1,000 tonnes of fuel oil daily.

The leaders of the Tajik Energy Association, Tajik Gas Company, the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products, the Dushanbe Executive Committee, enterprises, and organizations are duty bound to take additional measures to supply electricity and heat to residents and republican enterprises. This will depend a lot on saving and wisely consuming electricity and heat.

Decree Names National Guard Commander

LD2912095691 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1434 GMT 28 Dec 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] A Tajik presidential edict makes Major General Bahram Rahmanov commander of Tajikistan's National Guard. Major General Rahmanov, who earlier held the job of chairman of the Central Committee of the Voluntary Society of Assistance to the Army, Aviation, and Fleet (DOSAAF in Russian), Tajik branch, has also been made a state assistant on issues of Tajik national security and work of law-enforcement agencies.

Since Tajikistan's Supreme Soviet's session abolished the republican State Security Committee (the KGB) on December 25th, Rahmanov's new appointment is viewed as another effort of Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev to broaden support of the rural population. The appointment may also be eventually aimed against the republican Interior Minister Mamadayez Navzhuvanov, who is a native of the Gorno-Badahshan Autonomous Republic. At a time of sharp confrontation between the authorities and the forces of Islamic opposition in the south of Tajikistan, Navzhuvanov kept a neutral stand, and was against the use of tough provocative measures against the opposition. Officials from the Tajik presidential circle believe that the setting up of a Russian Ministry of Security and the Interior may serve as an example for the Tajik authorities to follow and create a similar structure in the republic, under the sole command of Bahram Rahmanov.

Turkmenia

Armenia Signs Trade, Economic Agreement

NC2812200991 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 27 Dec 91

[Text] Ashkhabad, 26 Dec (ARMENPRES-TASS)—A trade and economic cooperation agreement for 1992 was signed between Armenia and Turkmenia. The volume of exchange of goods between the two republics will amount to more than 1 billion rubles. Turkmenia will sell gas, industrial iodine, and other goods at world prices and will buy "Yeraz" minibuses, car projectors, electro-technical goods, and furniture.

Uzbekistan

Majority Vote for Karimov, Independence

LD3112113891 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 31 Dec 91

[Text] Results of the republic referendum and the elections for the president of the republic of Uzbekistan were announced at the Central Election Commission on 30 December 1991. The election in the republic took place in a (?democratic atmosphere) in line with the law of the republic of Uzbekistan on the referendum and the law on the election of the president of the republic of Uzbekistan. Citizens displayed a great deal of enthusiasm.

All election commissions have examined the protocols on the results of the voting. The Central Election Commission confirmed the voting in the 13 polling okrugs on the territory of the republic and all the 6,994 polling stations.

The declaration of the state independence of the republic of Uzbekistan by the Supreme Soviet of the republic

received the vote of 9,718,155 people—98.2 percent of the people who participated in the voting.

The Central Election Commission on the referendum of the republic of Uzbekistan, in line with Article 26 of the law of the republic of Uzbekistan decrees: The approval by all the people of the declaration of the state independence of the republic of Uzbekistan as announced by the Supreme Soviet of the republic is confirmed.

The election of the president of the republic of Uzbekistan passed on the basis of competition. Two candidates were put to vote for the post of the president: 8,514,136 people voted for the candidate Islam Abdulghaniyevich Karimov—86 percent of the participants of the voting. Votes for candidate Salai Madaminov Muhammad Salih amounted to 1,220,474 people—12.3 percent of the voters.

The Central Election Commission, in line with Article 35 of the law of the republic of Uzbekistan on the election of the president of the republic of Uzbekistan decrees: Islam Abdulghaniyevich Karimov is confirmed as the elected president of the republic of Uzbekistan.

'Violations' Reported

OW2912181291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1641 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Presidential elections are in progress in Uzbekistan. The ballot papers include 2 names: the present leader Islam Karimov and the chairman of the opposition "Erk" (Freedom) party Muhammad Solikh [name as received]. As IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent learned from the presidential press spokesman Irismat Abdukhalikov, by midday more than 60% of the electorate had cast their ballots.

Observers from local opposition organizations report numerous violations of Uzbekistan's legislation during the voting. Spokesmen for the "Erk" party and the popular movement "Birlik" (Unity) assert that they saw more than one ballot paper handed out to certain individuals. Others received ballots without presenting identity cards.

Observers from the Russian Federation, Belarus, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, as well as from the U.S., Turkey, Malaysia and other countries are monitoring the presidential elections in Uzbekistan.

Russian Economic Reforms Not To Be Copied

LD2812080191 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 28 Dec 91

[By UZTAG correspondent Vyacheslav Drachev]

[Text] Tashkent December 28 TASS—Uzbekistan will not copy Russian economic reforms and will try to protect its low-income population before releasing prices from state control, incumbent Uzbek President Islam Karimov told voters in Tashkent.

Karimov is a candidate at the republican presidential elections to be held on Sunday [29 December].

Time will show how long the new Commonwealth will live, Karimov said, adding that important questions are to be decided at the upcoming Commonwealth meeting in Minsk.

The new Commonwealth completely differs from the former Union. The people of each country can decide their future themselves now, but they also have to join effort in settling most important problems and promote traditional cooperation, Karimov said.

President Bush Sends Recognition Telegram

LD2912143991 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0200 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Summary From Poor Reception] U.S. President George Bush in a personal telegram to Uzbek President Islam Karimov states that "the United States Goverment recognizes Uzbekistan as an independent state." The telegram also notes the establishment of mutually beneficial relations between Uzbekistan and the United States.

Israel, PRC, Brazil Recognize Independence

LD2912151291 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0200 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] The state of Israel, officially recognizing the independence of the republic of Uzbekistan, has adopted a decision to establish diplomatic relations with our republic.

Qian Qichen, foreign minister of the People's Republic of China and member of the State Council, states in a letter to the Foreign Ministry of Uzbekistan that the goverment of China recognizes the independence of the republic of Uzbekistan and is ready to establish diplomatic relations.

The foreign minister of Brazil recognizes the independence of the republic of Uzbekistan, as well as the independence of other member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States. It is stated that the goverment of Brazil is ready to establish mutually beneficial relations of friendship and cooperation with the republic of Uzbekistan, similarly with the other member states of the Commonwealth.

Radio Liberty Labeled Communist 'Mouthpiece'

OW2912182191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1641 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of Uzbekistan's popular movement "Birlik" (Unity) believe the Uzbekistani chapter of Radio Liberty has become the mouthpiece of the republic's Communist bureaucracy. A statement to that effect was made Sunday [29 December] to U.S. Congressmen monitoring presidential elections and referendum on independence in Tashkent.

A "Birlik" representative handed over to the U.S. observers a message expressing dissatisfaction with the fact that the famous radio station's broadcasting policy has been "somewhat reoriented," with the result that its programs in Uzbek have become overloaded with speeches by representatives of the former Communist leadership.